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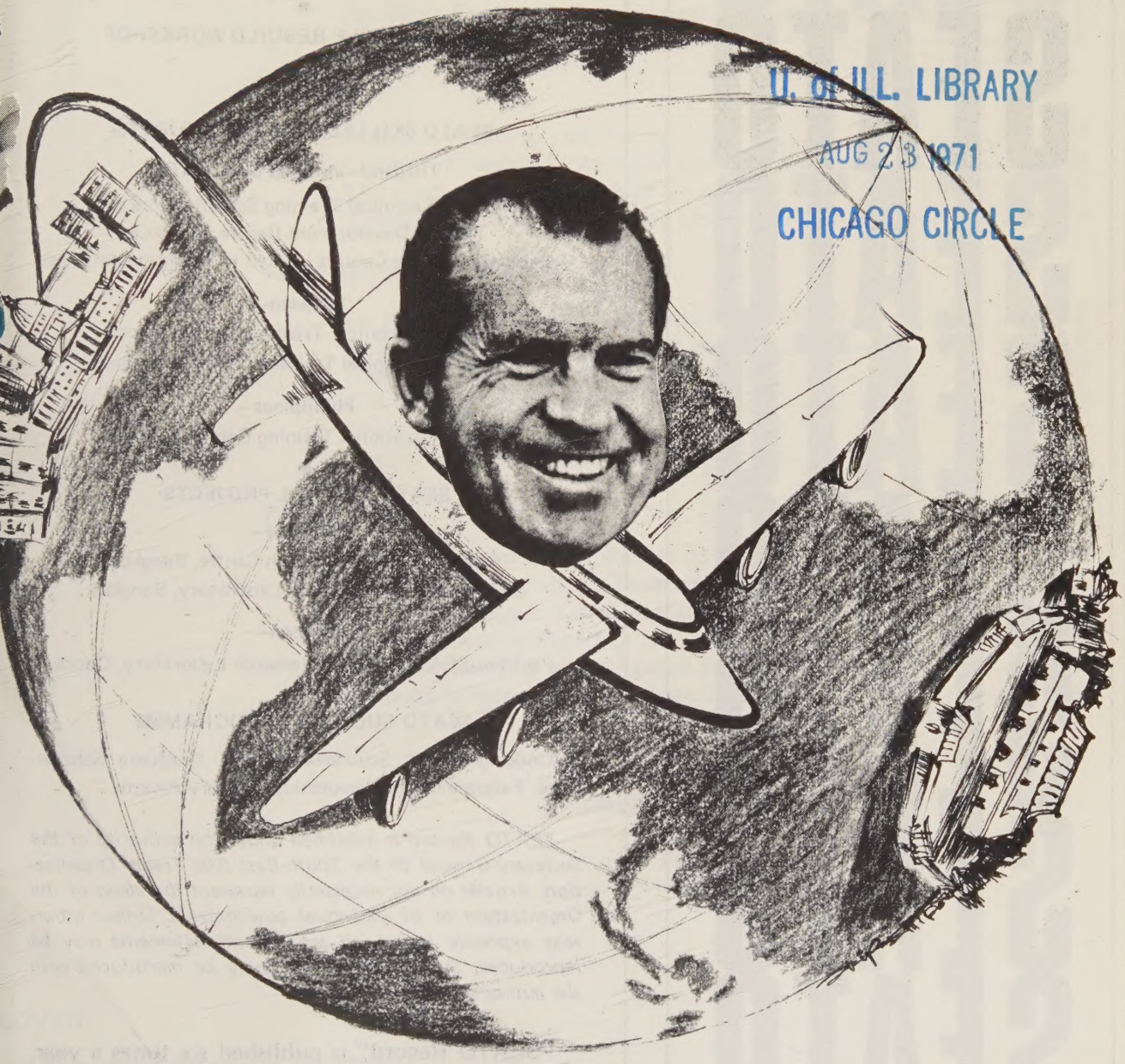

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SEATO RECORD

SEATO RECORD features significant events in South-East Asia, as well as activities of the Organization and its member nations. It reports statements which reflect attitudes or policies related to SEATO's role as a defensive organization.

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Contents

GENERAL: Page

Prospects For Peace, Development and Security in Asia.....4-9
Medicine Benefits From Lessons of War.....10-11

CHINA:

President Nixon to visit Peking.....12
Cadres Admonished-"Arrogant and Complacent".....13-14
The Disillusionment of a Red Guard 14-15
Young Chinese Flee From Life Under Chairman Mao.....16-17

FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Sir Keith Raps Critics of Involvement in SEATO.....18-19
Defector Tells Why He Changed Sides.....19
Nam Ngum Dam Nears Completion.....20
U.S. Ending Involvement in Vietnam.....21-22
Colombo Plan (20 Years Old) Continues
to Spur Development.....22

PANORAMA:

Breakthrough in Social Welfare in the Philippines.....28-32
Experts Review Cultural Programme.....32
Thai Author Again Takes Literary Award.....33
The Capital of Shangri-La.....34-40
Major Advance in Fight Against Cancer.....41
Australia's Oldest Asian Heritage.....42-45

Photo-Feature
Asian Institute of Technology
in Transition
Pages 23-27

COVER:

The proposed Peking visit of President Nixon to meet Communist China's leaders captured the imagination of SEATO artist Ittipon Sombulsilp

Prospects Developm Security

A conference on "Prospects for Peace, Development and Security in Asia in the 1970s" was held recently at the Airlie House Conference Center, near Washington, D.C. Scholars, diplomats and representatives of labour, industry and business from 15 countries in the Pacific Basin attended the conference. The following articles are based upon the discussions. The views expressed are personal and do not necessarily reflect the official policies of any of the 15 nations.

GUERRILLA WARFARE

THE lesson for South-East Asia in the 70s is that protracted guerrilla warfare can be met only by the continued capacity and willingness of governments and peoples to practice protracted defence.

This was the conclusion reached by Dr. Stephen T. Hosmer of the Rand Corporation (a noncommercial research organization) and a panel of experts at the conference.

Dr. Hosmer said that unless governments stumble badly by providing insurgents with issues or by falling into a state of disarray and instability, they should be able to defeat insurgencies during the 1970s. If governments remain alert and their military, economic and social counter-measures are reasonably effective, these insurgencies are likely to be contained.

Some insurgencies, because of terror advantages and external support, will probably prove difficult to remove entirely, Dr. Hosmer predicted.

In Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam, Communist forces are large, widespread, and able to keep fighting, he added. The Republic of Vietnam, despite the success of pacification, is still faced with a formidable political-military infrastructure, including perhaps 75,000 persons.

Given the considerable Communist strength in Indochina, the stamina of all three governments will be heavily tested for some time, Dr. Hosmer contended. South Vietnam alone is still confronted with more than 200,000 persons in order of battle.

On the other side of the coin, various panel members called attention to the support that nations of the area can count on as a result of the Nixon Doctrine policies under which the United States has expressed a willingness to arm her allies for their own defence.

The guerrillas also have problems, among them:

1. Demands for assistance made by the guerrillas on their Communist allies are not matched by performance, particularly as they escalate from isolated guerrilla action to mobile warfare.
2. In their small actions, the guerrillas cannot risk many defeats or their support dwindles.
3. In the rough terrain where they choose to operate there are few supplies available and fewer productive targets.
4. Sanctuaries sometimes are denied them.
5. They often face difficulties in finding civilian populations sufficiently discontented with the government to harbour them or assist them in violent acts, particularly as the government performance improves.
6. A decision on when to make a step up from isolated actions to mobile warfare can be critical. Too early, can be disastrous, as in the *Tet* offensive. Long deferment of the move can be exhausting.
7. Rebellion must be more than military—it must also include political, social, economic and psychological aspects.

Dr. Hosmer said that by highlighting the enemy's strengths and advantages he did not mean to suggest that the Communists will succeed in South Vietnam or else-

for Peace, nt and Asia

where in Indochina. Many Communists desert every year and the North Vietnamese have had to shift tactics because of the developing strength of the South Vietnamese Government.

The leaders in Hanoi have little reason to call off their quest for power in the South. They are reinforced in this view by a historic faith in the eventual efficacy of protracted warfare and by an enduring "strategic optimism." This is based on the belief that fundamental "contradictions" inherent in the "enemy camp" will ultimately bring victory to the insurgents.

With the progressive withdrawal of U.S. military forces, Dr. Hosmer said, Hanoi is convinced that the major underpinnings of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam have been removed and that collapse is likely at any time. It therefore will be preparing to test the true depths of Vietnamization over a long period.

For Cambodia, Laos or South Vietnam, Dr. Hosmer said, it is difficult to foresee circumstances that would prompt Hanoi to abandon or even seriously curtail its support to these areas where it has so much invested.

The Vietnamese Communists have developed certain organizational, doctrinal and motivational strengths that help them to preserve the cohesion and maintain the morale of their movement despite adverse circumstances. This makes for resiliency and adaptability.

Given the record of the past decade, and the self-interest of the powers concerned, there is little basis for assuming that either Peking or Hanoi will readily abandon its support of Communist movements now operating in any of these areas.

BALANCE OF POWER

PROSPECTS for development of a dynamic yet relatively stable equilibrium among four great powers to ensure peace in East Asia were discussed at the conference.

A panel on "The Role of the Major Powers in New Asia" was led by a diplomat who asked to remain anonymous. His paper was judged the most innovative in the four-day conference.

The speaker noted that the old bi-polar system of international relations has been replaced by a new multi-polarity. In the Communist world, polycentrism, eventually leading to fragmentation of the hitherto monolithic international Communist movement, has resulted in ideologically hostile camps, he said.

Japan has risen as a new world economic power and the People's Republic of China has shown a desire for a thaw in her relations with the non-Communist world. In this situation, the diplomat maintained, a new four-power constellation of forces—United States, Soviet Union, People's Republic of China and Japan could develop a workable equilibrium in the area if:

1. The major powers manage to avoid armed confrontation.
2. Japan finds herself not compelled to go nuclear.
3. Economic development could be accelerated in co-operation with the major powers.
4. South-East Asia could eventually become an autonomous factor in the constellation of forces in the Asia-Pacific region.

The development of such an equilibrium in the East Asia and Pacific area will be a measure of the vision, imagination and political will of men to face up creatively to the challenges of the remaining years of the 20th century.

An effective international forum is essential to such a dynamic equilibrium and such a forum could be created under terms of Article 52 of the United Nations Charter. The forum would encompass, in addition to the major powers, all East Asian and Western Pacific nations, including the divided countries. It could be created "through an admittedly unprecedented act of collective

wisdom" or conceivably could arise out of the eventual solution of the Indochina war.

However, even if no formal organization is created, the equilibrium could come about through continuous and intensive exchanges and diplomatic activity within and without the United Nations and a variety of regional organizations.

There would have to be an understanding among all major powers to proceed in their relations with South-East Asia at a level of intensity. They would have to recognize that over-involvement by one major power was bound to lead to escalation by the others.

The most explicit form this agreement could take would be one for a major-power guarantee of the neutralization of the whole of South-East Asia. This would include pledges of no new bases and the gradual removal of existing ones; no patron-client relationship, and abandonment of containment policies. Self-restraint by the big powers was the key to the success of the proposition.

The People's Republic of China might be ready to practice such restraint after witnessing the failure of subversion as a tactic in Indonesia and Ceylon and the cost in blood and treasure in the Indochina conflict.

Each of the other three great powers—United States, Japan and the Soviet Union—has a natural stake in preserving an equilibrium in order to prevent domination by the others and to keep the trade lanes open. China might well welcome freedom from any fear of American power encirclement, although a return to a Bandung-type diplomacy, mixed with support of local revolutionary movements, appears possible.

Soviet interest in economic involvement in South-East Asia is evident in Moscow's recent increased interest in ECAFE and the Asian Development Bank.

Japan's stake consists of a desire to keep the trade and supply routes and export outlets open in the region, which is not only the supplier of 70 per cent of her raw materials, but lies astride the petroleum lifeline to the Middle East that passes through the Strait of Malacca.

Japan now appears to wish to avoid any conflict with the other three great powers and to remain non-nuclear, meanwhile expanding her trade in a stable area.

The Nixon Doctrine was viewed as the expression of the U.S. adjustment to a new role in Asia, emphasizing self-reliance by America's allies in the region but postulating a continued presence and active participation there. The doctrine seeks to prevent dominance by a single power in the area, and to promote stability and relative prosperity, open seas, access to raw materials and markets. It also postulates continuing partnership with Japan, a *detente* with the USSR and normalizing relations with the Chinese People's Republic.

The discussions on a four-power equilibrium assumed continued American involvement as a Pacific power and her continued acceptance of responsibility as a world power.

A factor encouraging to the proposed balance lies in the domestic pressures in each country against continued excessive military expenditures; these pressures are slowly impelling the super-powers toward some kind of global accommodation.

The Soviet Union and the United States both want to reassure the Chinese People's Republic in order to draw her away from adventures dangerous to world peace.

The Communist Chinese seek reassurance that the United States and the USSR will not combine to divide the world into spheres of influence and gang up against them.

The Japanese, under the U.S. nuclear umbrella, seek to avoid disturbing an equilibrium which has allowed them to succeed economically and which discourages nuclear proliferation.

The speaker made his proposal with an awareness of such issues and problems as the Sino-Soviet border disputes, possible Japan-China disputes over oil on the continental shelf, the problems of divided countries, and Japan's lack of sensitivity to the impact of her economic activities on the culture and life of smaller nations.

Inherent instabilities exist in the South-East Asian countries, based on a discrepancy between heightened expectations for greater prosperity and social justice and the general inadequacy of newly instituted political regimes to measure up. Higher economic standards and progress toward modernization might help if big-power rivalries are kept out of the picture.

JAPAN AND DEFENCE

SABURO Okita, President of Japan's Economic Research Centre, and Adviser to the Ministry of Economics, said Japan's leaders have discussed the idea of Japan developing a nuclear defence capability, but Mr. Okita believed the political climate is against nuclear armament and will be for at least five years. This is not just a holdover from the Second World War, he

indicated, but is due to other considerations, such as these:

1. Japan, although technically and economically capable of producing atomic weapons, is deeply concerned about the impact on her diplomatic relations around the world.

2. The Japanese believe the present nuclear balance between the Soviet Union and United States should not be disturbed by nuclear proliferation.

3. Japan feels she has an important role to play in discouraging nuclear weapons and rearmament. The Japanese are saying to Peking that "it's a rather stupid thing to build nuclear weapons to show national prestige."

4. Atomic weapons are dangerous toys to play with and also costly. If the human race is not to commit suicide it is better for Japan to work for gradual reduction in nuclear arms.

5. The Defence Ministry wishes to have conventional weapons for defence available but to stay under the nuclear umbrella of the United States.

While it is true that the new five-year defence plan calls for an 18 per cent increase in expenditures for armaments, the Gross National Product (GNP) is expanding at the rate of 15 to 16 per cent per year, so it is relative. Even at this rate defence expenditure will not reach one per cent of GNP until 1975, Mr. Okita estimated.

There are demands from the public in Japan to raise the standard of living now that Japan is economically successful. This will take a larger share of the nation's wealth, mitigating against large defence expenditures.

Dr. Sevinc Carlson of the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University in Washington, saw a growing concern in Japan regarding defence. The Soviet Union and Communist China, as well as the two divided countries of Korea and the Republic of China, are the sources of this concern.

The Soviet Union, with the second largest navy in the world, operates a Far Eastern fleet from Vladivostok on the sea of Japan, Dr. Carlson noted. This consists of 80 conventional submarines, 25 nuclear subs and 86 major surface warships.

The Chinese People's Republic now has the third largest navy in Asia, exceeded only by the United States and Soviet Union. The Chinese have a growing submarine force which could constitute a threat at sea to Japan, Dr. Carlson said.

Japan has more than tripled her defence expenditures since 1960 to a budget of $US 1.6 billion in 1970, but this is still less than one per cent of the GNP. She ranks 12th in the world in defence spending.

Starting with the five-year defence plan of 1972-76 the Japanese defence budget will increase by 18 per cent per year and military spending in 1976 will exceed US$4,000 million a year, Dr. Carlson said. The cost of the five-year defence buildup will be in excess of US$16,000 million, making Japan about seventh in the world in defence spending–behind the United States, USSR, Chinese People's Republic, West Germany, France and Britain.

The Japanese force will be among the most modern and best equipped in the world when the five-year plan is completed, Dr. Carlson said.

The Japanese White Paper on Defence emphasized a continued image of a peace-loving Japan but said the nation should be able to defend itself without relying on the United States. It stressed, however, that Japan remain a great economic power, not a military power. The Japanese Constitution does not take away the inherent sovereign right of self-defence, the paper said.

DANGERS OF TRADE BARRIERS

DEVELOPED and developing nations should cooperate in a bold new global initiative to lower tariff barriers, expand trade in agricultural products and arrange tariff preferences to the less developed countries, the noted British economist, Mr. Hugh Corbet, told the conference.

In an address entitled, "A Strategic Look at the Pacific Basin From London", Mr. Corbet emphasized the danger of breaking the world down into regional groupings, each with barriers to trade with the others. This could result in Britain being part of a European Economic Community, while cut off from her Commonwealth trade associations and isolated from the United States, he said. The outcome could be an American retreat into protectionism and Australia and New Zealand joined with Japan to dominate a trade grouping in East Asia. Such an arrangement could work to the detriment of all.

One quarter of Britain's exports are to South-East Asia and other destinations east of Suez, and nearly two thirds of British commerce is conducted outside Western Europe. Thus, Britain has an interest in ensuring the freest possible access to markets on all continents.

Mr. Corbet argued in favour of a British presence east of Suez as a bulwark to peace in the area, with a resultant

atmosphere conducive to trade. He said that, in view of the socio-political and politico-strategic circumstances of the area, Britain can hardly claim to retain a serious political interest in South-East Asia unless she is prepared to share meaningful responsibility for its security and stability.

The British economist said that in an age of rapid transportation and communication it was a mistake to put too much emphasis on geographical propinquity. In the 1970s, all nations must look at the world from a global viewpoint, since "continentalism is not the wave of the future."

International relations and interests are not defined by location of a continent or a nation but by a network of their relations throughout the international community. Britain, therefore, is interested in the widest possible non-discriminatory trade. This she will want to promote inside the European community, if she joins, or outside it in any case.

The next initiative for free trade must be bold, said Mr. Corbet, and capable of political support necessary to carry it through. This is not an unlikely possibility in light of the success of the Kennedy round.

There is considerable support within Britain for eliminating tariff barriers to international trade and expanding commercial trade in agricultural products, linked with a scheme of tariff preferences for less developed countries called the "Free Trade Option."

THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT

THE meaning of the Nixon Doctrine and the attitude of the American people and their government toward continuing involvement in South-East Asia were major topics of discussion at the conference.

The experts were familiar with the main features of the Nixon Doctrine–a lowering of the U.S. profile in the area and a fulfilment of treaty commitments. They said there is concern in East Asia about what implications may lie in the specific features of the doctrine. The debate going on now in the United States over these policies and its effect on future policy formulation was discussed in a panel on "American Perceptions of Asia."

The major paper was presented by Professor Owen Harries, of the University of New South Wales, Australia. Dr. Harries said it is just as true now as it was two decades ago that an American commitment was a condition for peace and stability in the region.

Support for U.S. Asian policy has been eroded seriously. While there are obvious political and cultural explanations for this, there are no good intellectual reasons for it, he contended. The U.S. Administration's policies are based on sounder perception of the realities of Asian affairs than its critics possess.

The critics say the cold war is over, but if cold war is defined in terms of sharp ideological conflict, between one or more Communist powers and the United States, then it is clearly unfinished, Dr. Harries said. It is not unsound to judge realities in Asia round this struggle. Dr. Harries contended that "a more sophisticated and comprehensive cold war perspective is required."

He raised these questions: How viable is South-East Asia? How threatening is China? How important to the U.S. is South-East Asia?"

The idea that nationalism is the strongest political force in South-East Asia and an effective barrier to Communist Chinese expansion "grossly exaggerates the strength of Asian nationalism," Dr. Harries said. Sometimes Asian nationalists have cooperated with Communist powers, as in the case of Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia: taken a neutral stance as with Prince Souvanna Phouma of Laos, or even embraced a Communist philosophy outright, as did Sukarno in Indonesia.

Communist "wars of liberation" are designed to exploit ambiguous relationships between nationalism and Communism.

"The Asian countries which have experienced the fastest rates of economic development and improvement in living standards have been those which permit and encourage the exercise of private enterprise," Dr. Harries said.

He pointed to the success of Japan and how it contrasted with the economic chaos of the Chinese People's Republic. On the other hand, he criticized "demands for the most immaculate democratic rectitude, with no allowances made for circumstances" in the young Asian governments.

The Australian cautioned against over-emphasizing the concept of "Asia" as an entity, since it is a Western, not an Asian, concept. Newly found enthusiasm for regional cooperation and regional defence suggests "a sense of common identity and interest, for which it is difficult to collect much evidence."

Critics of U.S. policy say Peking tends toward aggressive talk but practices caution and restraint. Yet, Dr. Harries noted, Communist China invaded India and Tibet.

China was neither encircled nor isolated until she caused the situation herself by her policies toward the

Soviet Union and India. American influence on the situation is simply not that decisive.

China has not been aggressive until now, simply because of the American commitment in South-East Asia and the possibility of American nuclear retaliation on the Chinese mainland. This might change radically with American withdrawal from the area and achievement by China of a nuclear stand-off position.

The fact of Peking's aggression in the area is real enough; it is only the eve of that aggression that is in question. "Subversion and the instigation and support of wars of liberation are Communist China's chosen weapons and we can expect it to stick to these," Dr. Harries said.

He questioned the view that China lacks the means of large-scale aggression by her armies in South-East Asia. He pointed out that its army performed effectively in Tibet and on the Himalayan border of India. "China has aggressive propensities which will manifest themselves in action if the opportunity presents itself. It is certainly strong enough to make the basing of policy on any other assumption extremely foolish," Dr. Harries said.

It would be ironic if, having over-estimated Communist China's power so long, we should underestimate it, now that it is emerging as an authentic nuclear power.

Critics of the U.S. commitment in Asia see it as "irrational, a blunder, a consequence of arrogance, obsolete thinking, ideological globalism or uncontrolled bureaucratic momentum." The new left sees it as a diabolical plot to exploit Asian resources. However, Professor Harries terms South-East Asia not only important in itself to world peace but a battleground in a struggle over the very nature of the political structure of the world, as was stated by Dean Rusk when he was U.S. Secretary of State.

Soviet and Chinese Communist support for North Vietnam indicates they both believe something important is at issue there, he said.

SECURITY: PERSPECTIVE FROM 'DOWN UNDER'

AUSTRALIANS foresee a period of uneasy stability in South-East Asia while they gain time to build their own defence capacity, especially in sea and air power. This view was expressed by Bruce Grant, University of Melbourne, Australia, in a panel discussion on the "Continuing Problems of Security in Asia: The Perspective from 'Down Under'."

"Despite traditional links with Britain and Europe, the Asian-Pacific region is now established as Australia's area of interest," Mr. Grant said, "and in one way or another, the region will continue to pull Australians into world politics."

The days of "Fortress Australia" are over and the nation must look to its own defence. "The indefensible continent has to be made defensible, and the concept of a front-line that should be maintained, actively if necessary, at a distance from Australia has to be abandoned," said Mr. Grant.

"The task of building Australia's defence, bearing in mind the size of the country and its security interests, not only in South-East Asia but in both the Pacific and Indian Oceans, is likely to take a long time and a lot of money." Australia will take a more independent stance in the future. She will increasingly follow a policy of co-operation in global strategy. Australians feel that they have a responsibility to take their own initiatives in diplomacy to offset the risks of nuclear proliferation.

"Australian policy will for the first time show a real interest in disarmament and arms control," Mr. Grant said. "There will no longer be the hawkish assumption that Australia's interests are served by embroiling the U.S. This will mean a profound change in Australian attitudes, but not on the basis of the alliance."

Australians have now taken greater interest in Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Papua-New Guinea than in more distant countries of the world. Australia's objective in Indonesia for some years will be to assist economic growth and political stability, with no desire for defence co-operation. Bringing Papua-New Guinea to independence may require a defence commitment and will certainly require the assistance, if only passive, of Indonesia.

Mr. Grant said American interests in South-East Asia are almost entirely political and strategic rather than economic and "there is a good deal of opportunity for the U.S. to take a narrow view of its interests."

"Today," he said, "very few believe that the U.S. will return to its between-wars isolationism, because its own security is global and because its citizens are committed to foreign investment, international commerce, travel and, one hopes, to trade."

Regarding Communist China's influence in South-East Asia, he commented: "An increasing number of South-East Asian nations are arguing that the CPR's influence is political and cultural rather than military, and that the vast defence against Peking is strong government, ruthless counter-insurgency and a non-provocative, even friendly attitude to China itself."

Medicine Benefits from Lessons of War

By Surgeon Commander
G.A.R. Giri, O.B.E., RN, Staff
Medical Officer, SEATO Military Planning Office

ALTHOUGH the great father figures of public health, such as the Englishman Chadwick, were inspired by social and disease patterns of peacetime, the effect of war has more and more in recent times stimulated medical advance, especially where the preservation of manpower and the relief of suffering due to the physical and mental insults of war assume high priorities.

The first important example of the above was probably James Lind whose classical experiments in the British warship *Salisbury* in 1748, proved that scurvy could be prevented by eating oranges and lemons. So unused were the educated at the time to act on scientific proof untinged by philosophy, that it was some 30 years before the lessons were fully appreciated.

Since then the tables have turned so far that medicine today finds itself exposed for lack of caution in the avid application of deductions from new research.

It would be a very great task to enumerate the great contributions made by military surgeons in the advancement of medicine. In the field of malaria we have hardly improved on Sir Ronald Ross, the British Army surgeon, who proved the life cycle and transmission of the disease via the anophebac mosquito in 1902.

In the First World War the pioneering work in surgery, and plastic surgery in particular was astounding. In the Second World War the advances made by all nations were immense, probably crowned for all by the discovery of penicillin.

At the present time, however regrettable the war in Vietnam, there is no doubt that the medical lessons learnt and the continued progress of research stimulated by the war are continuing to provide lessons of great value in peace and war.

In the light of this background, the SEATO Fifth Military Medical Meeting convened recently in Bangkok and a study of the subject matter discussed is illustrative of the above.

Malaria was as usual a talking point; it is one of the greatest threats to military operations in South-East Asia and the fact that no drug is one hundred per cent effective as a prophylactic gives much cause for concern. Another agenda item concerned the measures necessary to ensure malaria discipline.

The Vietnam experience is that special teams must visit units at regular intervals to make sure that prophylactic pills are being taken, to make sure that mosquito eradication measures are properly applied and to see that personnel prevent mosquitos from biting, by covering up properly and using repellents. It was agreed that DDT was a most important adjunct to malaria control, that properly used it was not dangerous to man, and that restraints on its use would seriously impair programmes to curb the disease in developing countries.

Diarrhoea and its multiple causes, because of its incapacitating nature, is matter of considerable military interest. The SEATO Medical Research Laboratory has recently discovered a new vibrio with similarities to that of cholera, which may be shown to account for many cases in which at present no causal agent is identified. Although this type of complaint

Air Vice Marshal R.J.A. Morris (left), the Chief United Kingdom delegate, who was Chairman for the Fifth Conference of the SEATO Military Medical Committee, in discussion with the Chief of the SEATO Military Planning Office, Major General R.A. Hay.

can almost be eliminated when the strictest standards of hygiene are practised, this ideal situation is hardly ever possible even under conditions of military discipline, and the research being conducted at present is of universal significance.

The committee discussed procedures required to deal with burns in the front line and any problems of evacuation that might arise. With the triage* system evolved in the Vietnam war, and the possibility of choosing the destination of a casualty by helicopter transport, it was concluded that burns presented no worse problem than any other severe injury and that therefore no special arrangements were necessary.

The procedures for efficient helicopter evacuation of casualties and details of patient care required were reiterated. These procedures would in the light of lessons learnt during the war, have immediate application in any theatre of natural disaster.

The problem of drug abuse, however temporary a problem it may prove, is a world wide cause for concern at present, and the committee did not see any simple solution. The facts remained that perhaps 80 per cent of heroin takers would be dead in five years and that the relapse rate of those who had had treatment was over 90 per cent. Thailand reported that methadone substitution, although in some ways substituting one addiction for another, was perhaps the far lesser of two evils and had the merit of cheapness in countries with small resources.

Among the subjects tabled for discussion was the problem of mental breakdown at the front. In the First World War the problems of "shell shock" were never properly solved due to our embryonic knowledge of psychiatry. However, the experiences of the Second World War, Korea and now Vietnam have advanced techniques.

The committee established that psychiatric care affording simple early treatment in the front line was often able to prevent breakdown altogether. This meant that only a few man hours would be lost and the benefit to the individual of not having to suffer the mental stress of being hospitalised was enormous.

It was important to eliminate personnel obviously predisposed to breakdown. But to prevent breakdown, thorough training bases on sound psychological as well as military principles which include such elements as morale building, understanding of purpose, efficient training and leadership, good welfare and adequate food, are prime factors.

It will be clear from the above that if psychiatric breakdown can be avoided by these measures in a military context, the lesson applies no less in a civil context and it follows that stress must be laid on these principles in a counter-subversion programme. The mental health of the civilian may often be of far more importance than that of his uniformed brother in arms.

The report of this successful meeting shows the impetus that medical advance derives from warfare and highlights the problem that the application of lessons learnt in this way to sometimes much more acute civil problems is often given sadly low priority.

The meeting was chaired by Air Vice Marshal Morris, QHS, RAF (UK), and the other delegations were led by Air Vice Marshal Trudinger, CBE, QHP, RAAF (AUS); Colonel Augusto Hocson, Surgeon General of the Philippines; Captain Banyong Thavaramara, MC, Royal Thai Navy, and Rear Admiral C.L. Waite, MC, USN, the CINCPAC Surgeon (US). Brigadier General Bernstein, the MACV Surgeon, also attended, and observers were present from the Republic of Vietnam (led by Lieutenant Colonel Duong Minh Chau) and from CENTO (led by Major Tevhit Senal of the Turkish Army Medical Corps). The meeting co-ordinator was Surgeon Commander G.A.R. Giri, OBE, Royal Navy.

** Triage, a system for sorting mass casualties in the front line medical facility.*

China 中國

President Nixon to visit Peking

UNITED States President Richard Nixon has accepted an invitation to visit the People's Republic of China, it was announced in mid-July. The following is the text of Mr. Nixon's television address, in which he made the announcement, which was also issued simultaneously in Peking–

"I have requested this television time to announce a major development in our efforts to build a lasting peace in the world.

"As I have pointed out on a number of occasions over the past three years, there can be no stable and enduring peace without the participation of the People's Republic of China and its 750 million people. That is why I have undertaken initiatives in several areas to open the door for more normal relations between our two countries.

"In pursuance of that goal, I sent Dr. Kissinger, my Assistant for National Security Affairs, to Peking during his recent world tour for the purpose of having talks with Premier Chou En-lai. The announcement that I shall now read is being issued simultaneously in Peking and in the United States.

"'Premier Chou En-lai and Dr. Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's Assistant for National Security Affairs, held talks in Peking from July 9 to 11, 1971. Knowing of President Nixon's expressed desire to visit the People's Republic of China, Premier Chou En-lai, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, has extended an invitation to President Nixon to visit China at an appropriate date before May, 1972.

'President Nixon has accepted the invitation with pleasure.

The meeting between the leaders of China and the United States is to seek the normalisation of relations between the two countries and also to exchange views on questions of concern to the two sides."

"In anticipation of the inevitable speculation which will follow this announcement, I want to put our policy in the clearest possible context. Our action in seeking a new relationship with the People's Republic of China will not be at the expense of our old friends.

"It is not directed against any other nation. We seek friendly relations with all nations.

"Any nation can be our friend without being any other nation's enemy. I have taken this action because of my profound conviction that all nations will gain from a reduction of tensions and a better relationship between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

"It is in this spirit that I will undertake what I deeply hope will become a journey for peace–peace not just for our generation on this earth we share together."

Cadres admonished – "Arrogant and Complacent"

THE need to improve leadership at all levels has been emphasised in the Chinese Press in recent months. Cadres have been repeatedly admonished for their alleged "arrogance, complacency, and erroneous ways." The Chinese party journal, *Red Flag,* has also joined in the campaign.

Since its New Year's editorial on the subject, 20 articles dealing with leadership problems have appeared in *Red Flag.*

While much of this criticism encompasses ideological shortcomings, various editorials have admitted that senior cadres are reluctant to accept instructions from higher levels because central directives do not take into account "special" conditions in the provinces.

Local authorities, for example, have been taken to task for questioning official guidelines on the development of small-scale rural industries on a geographically decentralized basis.

Cadres are told that if they are bewildered by their present plight they have only to read five essays on philosophy by Mao Tse-tung. These are *On Contradictions* and *On Practice,* written in 1937; the 1957 article, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People;* a 1957 speech before the CCP's National Propaganda Conference; and the 1963 article, *Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?* These five essays are said to provide the criteria for deciding which cadres are taking the right road and which are guilty of "erroneous ways." Significantly, the five philosophical tracts have apparently replaced the *"Little Red Book,"* of quotations by Chairman Mao as prime instructional works. Chinese planners may well have come to the conclusion that the *"Little Red Book,"* originally designed for use by People's Liberation Army personnel, is of limited value in the cadre training programme.

The "Mao philosophy" campaign was introduced in 1970, with daily media accounts of how cadres were benefiting from Mao's five philosophic essays. A joint *People's Daily-Red Flag-Liberation Army Daily* National Day editorial on October 1 noted that leading cadres at all levels, and senior cadres in particular, were in "special" need of Mao's guidance.

The rationale of the campaign was later outlined in an editorial in Nanking's *New China Daily* on October 28, which, among other things, lauded Mao's philosophy as "the theoretical foundation of the proletarian revolutionary line and the essence and basis of the Thought of Mao Tse-tung."

In a practical sense, however, the campaign was probably inspired by the suspicion that Chinese cadres were beginning to feel complacent at a time when Peking leaders were particularly concerned about political and economic priorities.

The Chinese Press continues to give considerable publicity to a thought reform programme for cadres through work and study at "May 7" cadre schools. The name of the schools stems from a "special instruction" issued by Mao on May 7, 1967, stating: "Going down to do manual labour gives vast numbers of cadres an excellent opportunity to study once again."

According to Peking's *New China News Agency* (NCNA), currently some 90,000 government and party cadres are attending more than 100 "May 7" schools. Rehabilitation reportedly involves intensive political indoctrination and arduous physical labour.

A recent article in *Red Flag* suggests that the cadre

schools will be around for a long time. According to the article:

> "The operation of 'May 7' cadre schools is not merely for the purpose of re-educating the cadres not on active duty, because according to Chairman Mao's instruction, the cadres on active duty must also be sent down group by group to do manual work. We must regard the sending of cadres to do manual work *as a system and firmly adhere to it over a long time.....*
>
> We must seriously regard the *successful and indefinite operation* of May, 7' cadre schools as a great plan against revisionism in the next hundred years." (Emphasis added)

In one of his essays on philosophy, *Where Do Correct Ideas Come From,* Mao makes much of the lack of expertise among China's cadres. It is therefore necessary, he wrote:

> "to educate the cadres in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, so that they can orient their thinking correctly, become good at investigation and study and at summing up experience, overcome difficulties, commit fewer mistakes, do their work better, and struggle hard."

Inexperience must be an even greater problem now, following the dismissal in the Cultural Revolution of so many professionals. With a National People's Congress and a new five-year economic plan in the offing, Peking must delegate increasing responsibility to the cadres for the mobilization of the country's productive energies.

There is, however, a strong suggestion in the recent Press commentaries that, while the Chinese leadership in Peking may expect the cadres to shoulder new burdens, it nonetheless has some apprehension that their lack of political fervour and experience may wreck even the most well-laid plans.

Cadres are Peking's "transmission belt" for the transforming of centrally-formulated policy into action by the masses. Chinese Press comment, however, leaves little doubt that reluctance to commit themselves to once-condemned policies is obstructing efforts to stimulate the peasants into greater efforts.

There is also in this comment clear evidence of a dilemma plaguing Chinese planners: how can cadres be created who are, and will remain, both "red and expert" —officials, technicians and activists who are both ideologically pure and administratively efficient.

The disillusionment of a Red Guard

Red Guard: The Political Biography of Dai Hsiao-ai,
Gordon A. Bennett and Ronald N. Montaperto (Doubleday, 1971, 267 pp.)

IN 1965, Mao Tse-tung remarked to then French Minister of Culture Andre Malraux that "revolutions and children" have to be trained if they are to be properly brought up. "Youth," he added, "must be put to the test." A year later China's youths were put to the "test" as the Red Guard shock force of Mao's Cultural Revolution.

The Red Guards fell from grace after their rampage of 1966-67, and today most of them are being "re-educated" for a life in the Chinese countryside. A valuable clue as to what many former Red Guards may think of their experience and its portents for the

future is provided in the recently-published book, *Red Guard: The Political Biography of Dai Hsiao-ai.*

Dai Hsiao-ai (his pseudonym) was a Red Guard leader in Canton. He now lives in Hong Kong where he recorded his story in a series of essays. Much of the book is in his own words. A narrative and commentary was provided by two students of contemporary China, Gordon A. Bennett, Assistant Professor of Government, University of Texas, and Ronald N. Montaperto, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Indiana University.

Dai Hsiao-ai had just turned 17 in May, 1966, when the Cultural Revolution entered its public phase. He helped organize a Red Guard unit at his upper middle school in Canton and became one of its leaders. He joined in criticism of the school's teachers, attacked "class enemies" in their homes in Canton, journeyed to Peking for two of Mao's Red Guard rallies in 1966, and early the following year took part in the "seize power" campaign to overthrow the local party/government administration.

When the strife got out of hand in various parts of the mainland, Peking authorities ordered the People's Liberation Army (PLA) to suppress it and the Red Guards as well. It was this development in Canton in March, 1967, which provoked Dai to begin appraising conditions in China and his own place in the country's future. "It was the first time that I ever really sat down and independently questioned policies in China," he writes.

Dai's disillusionment grew during the 1967 "summer of violence," when factional battling resumed. At the urging of his family he returned to his village home for ten days in September and there, prompted by questions from the peasants, his judgment of the Cultural Revolution crystallized. "In my opinion," he writes, "the factionalism, fighting, the shifting alliances, and the different positions (of the Cultural Revolution) arose because the instructions from Chairman Mao just didn't work. His statements were so general that everybody, even those who opposed him, could find something to justify his own position."

Dai returned to Canton and decided to abandon the Red Guard movement. In Canton, he spoke with an old family friend and party member who stunned him with the suggestion that he flee to Hong Kong. Dai weighed the advantages and disadvantages, which he acknowledged were personal; but overriding these were more idealistic reasons which had little to do with his personal safety or future. In mid-November, 1967, he was smuggled aboard a small coastal vessel and made good his escape to Hong Kong.

Professors Bennett and Montaperto see Dai's disillusionment as an indication of the attitudes of countless other ex-Red Guards who are questioning their former roles while labouring in the countryside. Because the young people of China have enjoyed the sense of significant participation and satisfaction of being "in," they say, the Chinese leadership's task of motivating millions of "Dai Hsiao-ais" to continue to carry the centre's torch will not be easily accomplished.

Young Chinese flee from

DISENCHANTED with life under the harsh regime of Peking's Communist leadership, hundreds of young Chinese are making daring escapes from Mainland China to Hong Kong. At one time young people formed only a proportion of those who fled the rigours of Mao's China, but in recent months nearly all escapees have been between the ages of 16 and 25.

So many young people have escaped or attempted to escape from the Mainland that Peking has been forced to further increase border security and to introduce even heavier penalties for anyone caught trying to break out of the country.

The majority are students who object to being sent against their will from the cities of China to work in small communes in the countryside.

Many of the young people are caught by border patrols, or their escape plans become known to the authorities before they are put into operation. One group of youths from Canton who were accused of attempting to escape were beaten by troops of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). They were hit with rifle butts and kicked while on the ground. One youngster was so badly beaten that he vomited blood.

Hundreds of young people are being put on public trial after being arrested. These trials are conducted by local Revolutionary Committees, and the trial Chairman is often a member of the Committee. The local people are ordered to attend the trial. Only children under 10 need not go.

The trials open with the Chairman leading the audience in the recitation of Mao's Thoughts. The prisoners are then paraded with placards round their necks giving their names and the crimes which they are said to have committed. Usually, the crowd is informed that the prisoners have already been found guilty and it is only up to them to approve the sentence which will be announced.

Prisoners are then brought forward singly; their escape attempts are described—usually with embellishment—and the sentences then read out. Sentences for this offence have recently been increased and many young escapees have received 15 years imprisonment. There have also been reports of some teenagers receiving death sentences for "making contact with spies" in their attempts to leave China.

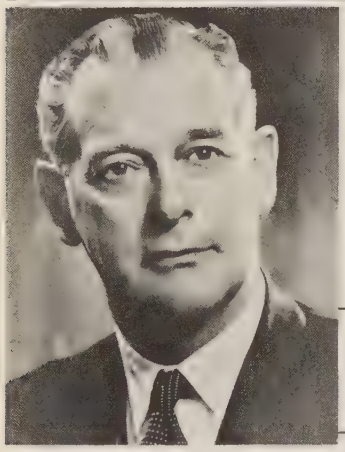
There is no appeal against the sentences. After the public trial all prisoners are paraded through the town by PLA men. Those sentenced to death are removed and shot immediately after the parade.

Despite the increased border security, public trials and the harsh sentences, the young people are still making their bid for freedom. Most try to swim across Deep Bay or Mirs Bay.

Held afloat by pigs' bladders or basketballs, they face a five to ten hour swim in swirling tide before they reach the New Territories of Hong Kong—and a new life.

In May alone this year, 250 young people have made the long swim across Mirs Bay, to escape from Communist China. This girl is one of those who reached the New Territories. She has scars on her legs from crawling over coral and shells on the seashore.

life under Chairman Mao



Sir Keith Holyoake . . . "SEATO-type arrangements still required . . ."

Sir Keith raps critics of involvement in SEATO

CRITICISM of New Zealand's involvement in SEATO as "outdated and irrelevant" was misleading and misinformed, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Sir Keith Holyoake, told the New Zealand Returned Services Association (NZRSA) annual conference in Wellington on June 15.

SEATO had each year been updated and had reacted to the threats of insurgency and infiltration, he told the conference.

New Zealand would continue to do what she could, and should, to assist South-East Asian countries in the task of maintaining stability in the region.

The NZRSA President, Sir Hamilton Mitchell, thanked Sir Keith for reminding the conference of New Zealand's obligations in the area, and gave an assurance that the conference was "right behind the present arrangements."

Sir Keith said the concern shown by the NZRSA over the year for the security and safety of the world, and its support for New Zealand's contribution to that end, was much appreciated by the Government.

Since the Second World War, the Pacific region had been an area of much concern to the Government. Major and wide-ranging changes had taken place, one of which was the implementation of the Nixon Doctrine in Asia, which reduced military presence in the area. The United States had announced that it had looked to the countries in South-East Asia to assume responsibility there.

Also changing, said Sir Keith, were the growing Soviet activities in the area, and the increasing flexibility of Communist China's foreign policy.

However, the growing strength of the smaller countries was permitting them to play bigger roles in the security of the area, which was so vital to New Zealand.

New Zealand's defence role was changing and would continue to. In Vietnam, the security position had greatly improved, and the ability of the North Vietnamese forces to launch a major offensive had greatly diminished over the past 12 months. As a result, New Zealand had withdrawn some of her troops.

It was clear, however, said Sir Keith, that a serious enemy threat remained, especially in Laos and in Cambodia.

Recently, he had been in London for two defence conferences, Sir Keith told the delegates.

The first was arranged to discuss Commonwealth forces in the Malaysian area.

After a 16-year involvement in the area, forces had been brought home as the threatened countries had shown a capacity to defend themselves.

The other defence meeting was that of the SEATO countries.

SEATO had been continually criticised as being outdated and irrelevant in the present day. However, said Sir Keith, he was convinced that such criticism was misleading and misinformed, as SEATO was the only general defence arrangement in the area.

After the Second World War, SEATO and NATO had been set up to help protect countries from a threat which still remained.

It was for the defence of the area in the event of a largescale war that New Zealand committed her forces in the area. The plans to commit forces to the area were kept up to date each year, and that was why military

training was still compulsory.

It was significant that since the signing of the Manila Pact, not one of the countries party to the treaty had been attacked, said Sir Keith.

The assistance offered by SEATO-type arrangements was still required, he told the conference. The people of the threatened countries still welcomed assurances from the United States and Britain of their continued interest and support.

The Minister of Defence, Mr. Thomson, followed up what Sir Keith had had to say on SEATO and New Zealand's South-East Asian involvement.

The key to the progress and development of the country was the security of the region, he said.

"There is no need to remind this audience of the sacrifices made by New Zealand in the search for global good sense and security in one form or another," he said.

The Government found no alternative to a continued emphasis on collective security as the basis for New Zealand's defence policy, he said.

"We see neither armed neutralism nor a retreat into isolationism as viable policy options for this country.

"There are neither the resources nor the national interests to sustain a 'go-it-alone' policy. We continue to emphasise the importance we attach to working with our allies, large and small. And we recognise that to continue to develop a relationship of trust with them we must continue to be ready to contribute to collective security," said Mr. Thomson.

Despite the financial problems faced in the past year, New Zealand's national defence establishment had notched up many significant new developments in that time. Progress was being made towards the establishment of the new five-power defence arrangements with allies in Malaysia and Singapore.

He referred to the new equipment the forces had received over the last year, and the proposed purchases.

Although cuts had been made in defence expenditure, the Government remained determined to keep the armed forces at the highest possible standards of readiness and effectiveness, said Mr. Thomson.

Defector tells why he changed sides

THE brother of Hanoi's former chief diplomat in Paris has rallied to the South Vietnamese Government. Mai Van So, twin brother of North Vietnamese Diplomat Mai Van Bo and himself a "revolutionary activist" in South Vietnam since 1945, recently met newsmen in Saigon to explain why he left the Communists.

Mr. So, who joined the Communist Party in 1950 after serving with the Communist-dominated Viet Minh against the French, sought and was granted "Hoi Chan" (defector) status shortly after he was captured by American troops in December, 1969. At the time of his capture Mr. So had already ceased to perform his job as a purchasing agent for medical supplies. Disillusioned with Communist tactics and long-term prospects, he was considering rallying to the Government at the time he was picked up.

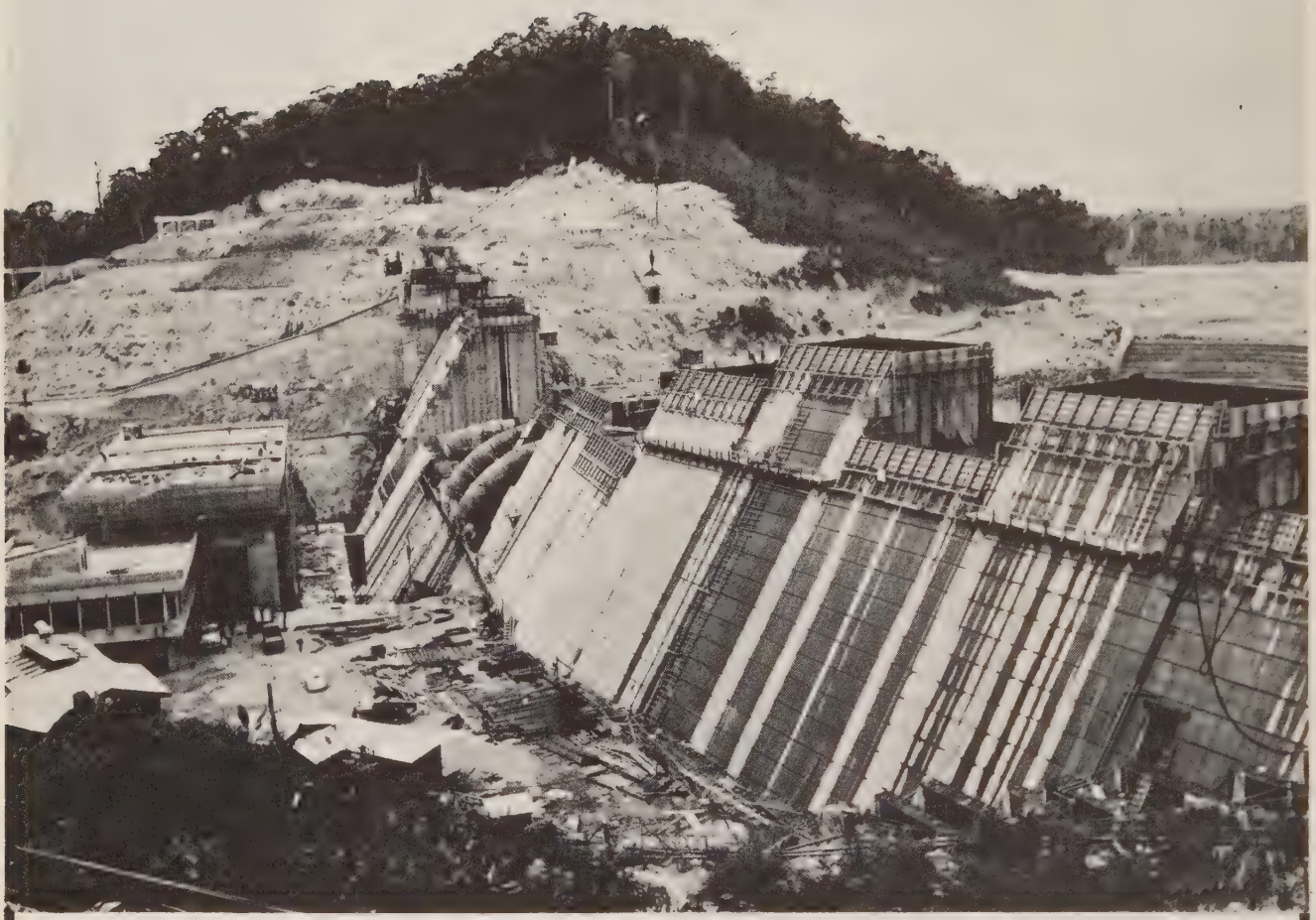
The excellent treatment he received from his American captors, and later from South Vietnamese authorities, convinced him to go ahead with the move, he told reporters. His defection has not heretofore been reported.

Mr. So said he now lives unrestricted in South Vietnam with his wife and two children. He has done some service with the "Chieu Hoi" or "Open Arms" Ministry, whose programmes have attracted more than 180,000 defectors from Communist ranks since 1963.

Mr. So said he knew nothing about the present status of his brother, Mai Van Bo, who served as a North Vietnamese diplomat in Paris from 1961 until late 1970; ultimately as general representative, or chief of the diplomatic mission. (Mr. Bo was replaced in December, 1970).

"The Communists obtained my brother's co-operation by giving him high positions and favoured treatment, the same way that other revolutionaries from South Vietnam were first attracted into the Communist ranks," Mr. So said. "The Communists always exploit people for party needs . . . but after using them, the party throws them away."

"The vast majority of the people of South Vietnam," he said, "do not know much about Socialism, let alone Communism. But they are not ignorant. They know full well that Communism from the North has brought nothing but suffering, misery and death to the people in the South and they totally reject and resist this aggression. That which Communism promises the Southerners—independence and true democracy—are the very things that North Vietnam would take away from them."



IN the heart of the Indo-China peninsula, on a Mekong River tributary in Laos, men from several nations are at work on the last stage of the Nam Ngum dam and associated water reservoir.

The internationally aided project is a part of a programme of the four-nation Committee for Co-ordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin, formed by the Khmer Republic, Laos, the Republic of Vietnam and Thailand, and operating under the auspices of the United Nations Economic the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Nine outside countries—Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Thailand and the United States—have made contributions totalling nearly $30 million for this tributary project, following United Nations appeals.

The dam is expected to be complete at the end of this year. A power station will have an initial capacity of 30,000 kilowatts of electricity to use in Laos and export to Thailand.

The photograph above gives an over-all view of the Nam Ngum dam under construction. The power house is located at the foot of the back face of the dam, (in the middle). The dam will be about 70 metres high with a crest length of 470 metres.

U. S. Ending Involvement In Vietnam

PRESIDENT Nixon says America is going to succeed in ending its involvement in Vietnam. Speaking in New York on June 18, Mr. Nixon said:

"At the present time, the eyes of the nation, primarily in the field of foreign policy, are riveted on Vietnam. I understand that. My eyes are on Vietnam, and I have a responsibility to end the American involvement there in a way that will contribute to a lasting peace.

"I will simply say, to get that subject in perspective, that if all of the great issues in foreign policy which come across my desk were as certain of solution as Vietnam, I would feel very sure about the future of peace in the world for the last third of this century.

"Because in Vietnam, either through negotiation or our process of withdrawal and the replacement of American forces by the South Vietnamese for their own defence, the American involvement is ending. American casualties are going down.

"It is on that record that we expect to be judged. We are going to succeed. So what we have to do, then, since we have a problem which, of course, blanks out virtually everything else in the field of foreign policy, is put it aside for the moment, recognizing that further down the road there are other problems that will be with us after Vietnam leaves, and it will most certainly leave."

Shortly after Mr. Nixon was inaugurated as President in January, 1969, U.S. troop strength in Vietnam reached a peak of 549,000 men. Since then, in line with the Nixon Doctrine to disengage in stages as South Vietnam's capacity to defend itself is strengthened, 293,000 Americans have been withdrawn up to June 10 this year. An additional 110,000 will be brought home by the end of 1971, Mr. Nixon has promised.

Basically, as it applies to South-East Asia, the Nixon Doctrine contains three basic propositions:

1. The United States will keep its treaty commitments;
2. The United States will provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of an Allied nation or one whose survival is considered vital to U.S. security or to the security of the region as a whole; and
3. In cases involving other types of aggression, the United States will furnish aid and economic assistance when requested and appropriate. But the nation directly threatened will be expected to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its own defence.

This new approach does not mean in any sense that the United States will cease to be a Pacific Power or that it will not continue to play a significant role in South-East Asia,Washington officials have stated repeatedly. What the Nixon Doctrine seeks is to establish a sound basis on which America can continue to carry out a significant role in a manner compatible with Asia's own aspirations and which can command the essential support of the American people, Washington emphasizes.

In his June 18 speech, Mr. Nixon pointed out that as the Vietnam problem diminishes other foreign policy issues will become increasingly prominent. The President cited particularly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and Mainland China.

The President noted that the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union have pledged to work for an agreement limiting offensive and defensive nuclear arms this year. Because of this commitment, he said, "the chances are good, we will have some kind of agreement."

This movement on the nuclear arms issue "gives us some hope for progress in other areas," Mr. Nixon said.

Because the two nations "know the dangers of not agreeing" they are "moving toward an era of negotiations," he asserted.

Speaking of his recent initiatives ending restrictions on travel and trade with the People's Republic of China, he said "we have opened the door . . . we shall see what comes through . . ."

As far as Mainland China is concerned, that country is not now a major power either economically or militarily. Japan, he said, with one fifth of China's population, has one and half times its gross national product.

However, he pointed out, the Chinese population will reach 1,000 million by the end of this century and the nation must not remain isolated. It is essential to move toward normal relations with Mainland China, even though it "will not come quickly."

Mr. Nixon conceded that the United States has done many things in the area of foreign policy that have been subject to criticism. However, he said the United States is the only nation in the free world that can play a role that will make a difference between war and peace in the last 25 years of the 20th Century.

He said he believes that the chances for peace are better now than at any time since the end of the Second World War, but he emphasized that the United States must maintain its military and economic strength to assure peace.

The President said that Americans who fought in four wars in this century believed they were fighting to preserve peace and freedom. With all its faults, he added, the United States is not "feared by any nation in the world."

Colombo Plan (20 years old) continues to spur development

THE Colombo Plan, one of the earliest and most successful of the economic assistance organizations, observed its 20th anniversary July 1.

The plan was conceived at a meeting of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in Colombo as a joint effort aimed at economic development in South and South-East Asia. The plan now embraces six contributing countries – Australia, Canada, Britain, Japan, New Zealand and the United States – and 18 developing countries.

Contributions from member countries are not put into a central fund; instead, all aid is negotiated bilaterally. The receiving country determines its needs and begins negotiations with a donor country on the best way to fill such needs. From the beginning, the co-operation and equality among members were emphasized.

Aid provided since the beginning of the Colombo Plan now exceeds $US 27,500 million, including technical assistance, capital and commodities. The United States, as the principal contributor, has given aid to the area totalling about $US 23,323 million from 1951 to 1969.

In 1969 alone, $US 28.1 million was spent under Colombo Plan auspices to finance 6,681 new training and student awards, as well as awards continued from previous years. Major donors were the United States, 2,893 awards; Japan, 989; Great Britain, 928, and Australia, 744.

A major example of co-operation for area economic growth under the Colombo Plan is the Mekong River Development Project–sponsored by the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) and the riparian countries. Contributions to the Mekong Project have been made by Australia, Britain, Canada, India, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand, Pakistan, Republic of the Philippines, and the United States.

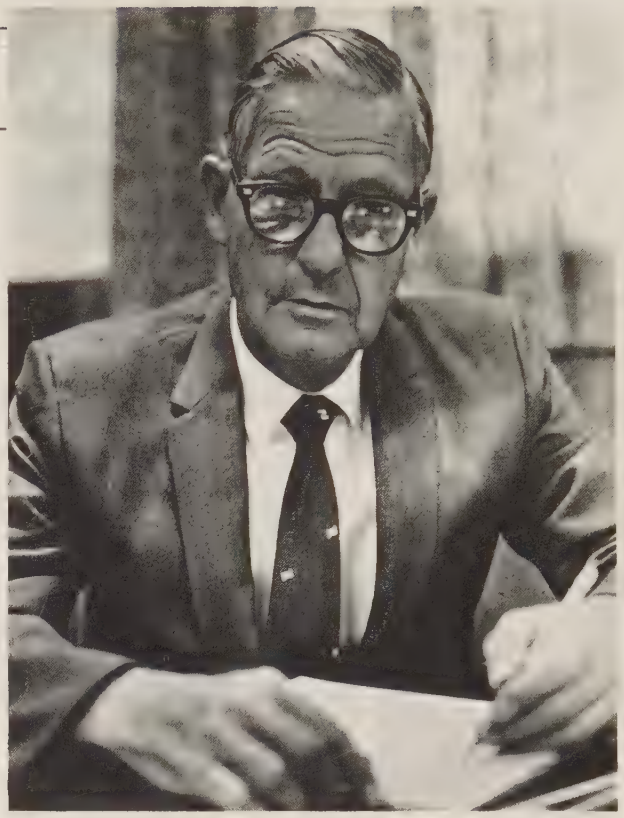
It involves the building of a vast water-conservation project along the Mekong which will result in improved living standards for 30 million Asians residing in the riparian states of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and the Republic of Vietnam.

Success of the plan over two decades also can be measured in the form of giant dams, hydro-electric projects, roads and bridges, industrial and agricultural projects–all made possible by capital aid and technical assistance.

The developing countries in the Colombo Plan are Afghanistan, Bhutan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Iran, Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Republic of the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Republic of the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and the Republic of Vietnam.

Shaping Asia's Technological Revolution: The Asian Institute of Technology in Transition

By Dr. Milton E. Bender Ait President



Dr. Bender...'SEATO has demonstrated its appreciation of the development needs of South-East Asia'

ASIA is in the midst of a great technological revolution, a series of significant changes which are bringing the peoples of the region into confrontation with an array of problems due to rapid population growth and urbanization, falling prices of traditional foreign-exchange-earning commodities on the world market and the threat of environmental pollution going out of control—as well as face to face with the possibility of an improved standard of living, sanitary and adequate water supplies for both people and industry, new discoveries to make use of materials which are currently discarded following outmoded manufacturing or refining processes.

'AIT is proud of its SEATO parentage'

While the great technological revolution has often been publicized as offering solutions to the great problems of the ages—inadequate supplies of food, disease and suffering from health problems, poverty and ignorance—it is true that one of the major tasks of technology today is to pick up the pieces, so to speak, of the loose ends that previous technological development research did not foresee breaking loose.

Today's engineers are charged with the task of maintaining transportation systems, electrical power production and distribution systems, facing the problems of human waste removal and overcrowded housing conditions, rehabilitating or rebuilding high-rise cities that have been built without adequate earthquake protection or awareness of the cumulative effects of exhaust from hundreds of thousands of internal combustion engines and the effluent from thousands of industrial operations which are polluting water supplies, destroying wildlife and waterborne food supplies.

In addition to all the traditional disciplines of engineering, the engineer of today must increasingly deal with such previously unheard of frustrations as the growing accumulation of seemingly indestructible plastic bags in the environs of many of Asia's greatest cities, and even out into remote villages where the new technology means transistor radios, motorbikes and bottled soft drinks.

In the midst of all this excitement and challenge, the Asian Institute of Technology is developing a new kind of engineer. This new engineer is Asian and he is being uniquely trained to confront the problems of his society where he can see it happening before his very eyes. AIT is training Asia's graduate engineers for roles in business and industry, in civil service and in the region's universities. And the hope is that they will take more significant

● *An artist's impression of the new AIT campus in Rangsit, about 25 miles north of Bangkok.*

roles as they mature through their workday involvement with regional development.

How did it all get started? What foresight was it that brought an Asian regional engineering school into existence in order to provide what wasn't being provided in Asia and what couldn't be provided in the West?

Nearly 11 years ago, a new regional institution came into being. The SEATO Graduate School of Engineering on that day—September 8, 1959—enrolled its first class of 19 students from Thailand, the Philippines and Pakistan—the three Asian member countries of SEATO. Although conceived as a diversified regional graduate school of engineering, it started first with only one major degree, hydraulic engineering.

Financed by SEATO and the member countries of SEATO, the Thai Government furnished the land and buildings and the United States provided about 80 per cent of the total operating costs.

During the next few years options in structural engineering, transportation engineering and public health engineering were added and by 1965 the enrolment had grown to 95 students—still predominantly from the three Asian member countries of SEATO but a few from other countries.

SEATO's member countries, although very willing to finance the school to get it started, were not able to continue this level of support indefinitely—other sources of financing had to be found if the school were to continue. This problem of financing became very critical in 1964, 1965 and 1966, and it became apparent that other sources of financing could not be found while the school remained part of SEATO.

SEATO officials recognized this, and with the same foresight that SEATO had used in founding the school, the Council of Ministers agreed at the 1966 meeting in Canberra to set it free of SEATO so that it could be chartered in Thailand as the completely autonomous Asian Institute of Technology. The Thai legislation enacting this charter became effective November 24, 1967.

This was a critical and necessary turning point for the Institute, but it must be recognized that it could not be developed in the way AIT is now established without having some international organization to provide it the needed shelter during its formative period. It could not have survived.

'AIT prepares Asian students for work in an Asian society'

SEATO fostered AIT and then relinquished control to allow it to continue to develop. SEATO co-operated in all the tedious legal steps necessary to set the school free and get it chartered as the autonomous Asian Institute of Technology. Working closely with the officials of SEATO throughout this period, I, better than anyone else, can appreciate their co-operation and farsightedness.

The Asian Institute of Technology was established by special legislation of the Royal Thai Government as a private, non-profit corporation with authority to conduct graduate instruction and research in engineering and the allied sciences on a regional basis. While based in Thailand, AIT is fully recognized as an international organization in its own right with privileges similar to those enjoyed by other international organizations.

But what does the Asian Institute of Technology offer which a Western institution *cannot* offer? It is almost too trite to say that AIT prepares Asian students for work in Asian society, but AIT does exactly that—and in an efficient manner.

While Western society offers certain opportunities for young Asians who wish to escape the restrictions of their past, there are certain negative factors to the phenomenon we know as the "brain drain", for in a very real sense the brain drain is an open admission of failure on the part of Western academic institutions to meet the needs which Asia—and Africa and Latin America—are in desperate need of, the need for well-trained technicians and leaders who have both academic competence, practical experience in applying their theoretical education, and an awareness of the unique problems which Asia and Asians must meet face to face.

Identification with other Asian students and the growing sense of being committed to the development of a better life for all Asians is a possible effect of being in

● *ABOVE: Afghanistan student Abdul Saboor Rahim (left), doing graduate work in Geotechnical Engineering at AIT, met British Ambassador to Thailand Sir Arthur de la Mare when he visited the campus. Dr. Edward W. Brand (centre), Associate Professor of Geotechnical Engineering at the Institute, is one of nine faculty and administration staff seconded by the UK Government to AIT.*

● *RIGHT: Dr. Anat Arbhabhirama, new Associate Professor of Water Science and Engineering at AIT, was one of AIT's first graduates.*

● *RIGHT: Seven ladies from various parts of South-East Asia are competing with their male counterparts for AIT's Master of Engineering degree. Five are pictured here. From left to right are Miss Warunee Youngskulrote of Thailand (Environmental Engineering), Miss Boontai Tan of Thailand (System Engineering and Management Systems), Miss Praxedes Parcero of the Philippines (Structural Engineering and Mechanics), Miss Josephine L. Merto of the Philippines (Environmental Engineering), and Miss Elizabeth Tai of Singapore (Systems Engineering and Management Systems).*

an institution such as AIT. At present, AIT is the only truly regional graduate institution in Asia, and the indications are clear that it will take a larger role in this area as expansion continues to the new campus in Rangsit, some 25 miles north of Bangkok.

There is no regional institution or graduate school in the liberal arts in Asia, though there may be some day. Such an institution has been recommended by various people from time to time, but as yet no concrete action has been taken.

But AIT, though an engineering institution, sees no limit to the responsibility it must assume in meeting the needs of the fully educated individual. And indeed, this is what the anti-brain drain plan is all about. As Asian students find themselves growing in awareness that they must release themselves from a continual reliance on Western aid and technology, no matter how desirable and good this assistance may be, they will be less likely to leave Asia when their educations are complete.

At present it is estimated that on the average more than 50 per cent of Asian students educated abroad never return to Asia. It is a tremendous gain for already wealthy Western nations to receive the cream of Asia's young scientists and engineers at the peak of their moments of opportunity and ability, but it does nothing for Asia but increase the awareness of loss and futility.

The attraction of Western educational institutions has been very great in the past and for good reason. Part of the problem has been the low quality of Asian institutions themselves and the reliance on Western educational materials and textbooks and staff, regardless of the school's location. Governments have granted substantial scholarships to promising Asian students, usually with the best intention of helping the Asian nation in every possible way.

But the Western institution is designed to educate engineers for UK, US or German industries, for example.

● *Mekong Committee U.S. Representative Eugene Black discusses the AIT model Mekong with AIT Associate Professor of Hydraulic Engineering Dr. Norbert L. Ackermann.*

● *AIT currently occupies a portion of Bangkok's Chulalongkorn University in the heart of the city.*

Students are prepared to make contributions to Western society, and if the school does not meet that task, it is not performing its duty.

Asian students, in the same UK institution, will rarely be equipped for work in their own society in the same degree or sense that an English student would have met the challenge, and succeeded. A UK or US graduate is likely to make a more significant contribution to society in Britain or America than he can make in Asia precisely because the institution has neither a staff nor curriculum emphasis which is designed to meet Asian problems.

Now the Asian Institute of Technology has a student body of more than 215 students from 18 countries, and at the new campus at Rangsit, 25 miles north of Bangkok, AIT will have a full-time graduate student enrolment of 300 in 1972, growing to about 1,000 students by 1980. When AIT opened in June, 1959 (as the SEATO Graduate School of Engineering) only one degree was offered—the Master's degree in Hydraulic Engineering. The Institute has continually broadened its curriculum to better meet the needs of the region.

Early this year four new academic programmes were added, raising to 17 the number of curricula which can be followed for the Master's degree, including such specialties as Environmental Planning and Resources, Water and Wastewater Engineering, Transportation Engineering, Systems Engineering, Urban Systems, and Industrial Engineering and Management—in addition to a broad range of more traditional engineering disciplines.

New areas of study are planned to include Agricultural Engineering, Computer Science, Electrical Engineering, Economic Geology, Chemical Engineering, Food Technology and Mechanical Engineering.

To provide support for a growing student body and curriculum, AIT has developed one of the most complete

technical libraries in the region, and together with the Institute's Mathematics and Computing Centre, Systems Engineering and Management Centre, and English Language Centre, the Institute is providing the most complete approach to engineering education for today—and tomorrow—to be found in all of Asia.

Intensifying this experience by the addition of the Doctor of Engineering degree and the Diploma of A.I.T., both of which were added last year, the Institute can now serve increasingly to supply faculty to other engineering colleges, universities and institutes in the region and, through the nine-month Diploma programme, provide concentrated short-course studies to engineers who are already employed in government service or private industry and who are unable to take leave of their positions for such a period of time as is required for regular degrees.

All of this development enhances AIT's research capabilities, which now bring additional financial support from organizations such as the Mekong Committee, the World Bank and Shell International Petroleum Company Ltd., to study aspects of Mekong River navigation, Bangkok harbour facilities and automobile exhaust pollution.

Financial support from outside donors helps fund the AIT scholarship programme. Contributors to this vital area include the governments of Australia, Canada (and the Provincial Government of British Columbia), the Republic of China, Denmark, France, Hong Kong, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Thailand, the United Kingdom and the United States.

SEATO, happily, continues to grant scholarship aid to the Institute, but additional major assistance has been received from the Federation of Economic Organization in Japan (KEIDANREN), the Lee Foundation of Singapore, the Starr Foundations, and from General Telephone & Electronics International, Inc., the IBM World Trade Corp., Lever Brothers (Thailand) Ltd., Shell International Petroleum Company Ltd. and the Shell Oil Company (Thailand) Ltd.

Thirty professors from Thailand, the Philippines, Japan, Canada, Great Britain and the United States are the academic nerve-centre of the expanding Institute. AIT's young staff, Western and Asian, is developing a distinctive approach to education. Such a task is much more practically carried out in Bangkok, or in other Asian cities, where varied institutions can delve into research on such matters as tropical soil science, environmental engineering and pollution control, corrosion, biodeterioration, biochemistry, water science, public health, structural engineering and highway design in more successful circumstances than can Western schools.

Educators from more developed countries are working at AIT in various academic and administrative posts, and are likely to continue to assist the Institute. But increasingly, top-notch Asian scientists and engineers are being recruited into this vitally Asian-oriented programme. They are more acquainted with the specific problems of Asia and they add depth and breadth to the Asian milieu of the institution.

Nonetheless, there will be a continuing need for versatile Western staff to maintain a constant flow of the latest information from the West through AIT channels. But AIT is reversing the trend, too, as new techniques are discovered right here in Bangkok, and at the new campus at Rangsit, where AIT is expanding the research and curriculum development which will make engineering education in Asia more relevant will continue to take shape.

Through co-operation between Asian and Western staff at the Asian Institute of Technology a new Asia-oriented graduate course syllabus is being developed, in every way as challenging and substantial as postgraduate education in the West, but tailored for the more pressing demands of developing societies where social and political forces add urgency to the task of education.

Students studying at AIT are fully qualified for graduate work at such institutions as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the US, or The Imperial College of Engineering in London, but they have seen the promise of the special value of education within Asia.

Value? Yes, but it doesn't come cheaply. Because AIT is not directly sponsored by any government it has no endowment of its own. Scholarships are available which are worth US $8,500 for a two-year course leading to a Master's Degree in Engineering. But it is a value when statistics show that only four per cent of AIT graduates are leaving for work in the West, compared with nearly 12 times that rate among students educated abroad.

There is the added value that students are to a greater extent free to devote themselves to their studies instead of encountering the frustration of severe "culture shock" that often detracts from their performance as students when abroad.

SEATO's consistent support of the independent development of AIT has shown that it has a profound awareness of the technological needs of the region. By aiding AIT in its effort to develop engineers who are both aware of the region's needs—and prepared to deal with them—SEATO has demonstrated its appreciation of the development needs of South-East Asia.

The Asian Institute of Technology is proud of its SEATO "parentage" yet as AIT moves to a new campus and new possibilities of educational co-operation, it has already faced the independent future with confidence.

"Development of human resources and promotion of human welfare are important requirements for any kind of development"

By ILENA MARAMAG

BREAKTHROUGH IN SOCIAL WELFARE

WHEN Ferdinand E. Marcos assumed the presidency of the Republic of the Philippines in 1965, he announced that one major concern of his Administration would be to give value to social welfare within the context of national development.

People were understandably sceptical. The government agency in charge of public welfare had been wracked by scandal; its image had been that of an institution which encouraged dole-outs and was utilized by politicians to ensure their election. But President Marcos was firm in his pronouncement. He said:

> "We will not let politics or malice stand in the way of helping those who need help. For years, and through countless administrations, social workers had been trying to push through the idea of lifting welfare work in the Philippines above the level of rice and sardines. They spoke of decentralizing Welfareville, which had become, through laziness, inadequate funds and sheer ignorance, the dumping ground of society's rejects.....The development of human resources and the promotion of human welfare are important requirements for any kind of development."

Heretofore, the country's unfortunate–the handicapped, the aged and mentally ill, the orphans and the delinquent, the alienated and the deprived–were considered burdens to society and not politically important since these ill-fated members of the community cannot vote. Welfareville, where the country's dependent groups lived in sub-human conditions, was a national disgrace.

Thus, to effectively implement a comprehensive intensified programme of public welfare as an integral part of his programme of action for national economic development, President Marcos–including the First Lady, Imelda Romualdez Marcos–actively worked for the reorganization of the government's welfare agency into a full-fledged Department of Social Welfare. The Marcos Administration committed itself to give value to the full development of man as a human being.

With the encouragement of the President, Imelda Romualdez Marcos initiated her nationwide Integrated Social Welfare programme. Her primary consideration was to assist human beings whose lives and souls, she believed did not have to be lost to circumstance. In a meeting at Malacanang in April, 1966, the First Lady sought the expertise of those who had been long involved in welfare work to develop a comprehensive programme action for the country's disadvantaged citizens.

The apathy and neglect at Welfareville prompted Mrs. Marcos to organize programmes which today

Mrs. Marcos talking to victims of Mayon Volcano eruption.

provide welfare services for all ages, covering the entire range of human need from the country's young to its senior citizens. On the advice of social service experts, she caused the construction of five welfare villages along modern methods of dispersal.

In the order of priorities, children and youth were given primary consideration. Mrs. Marcos channelled private philanthropy (in the amount of P787, 859.10) for the construction of the first welfare village: a Recreation and Study Centre for Children and Youth in Quezon City. Prominent women heeded the First Lady's appeal to furnish the centre's complex of 12 cottages where youngsters–from infancy to 16 years old–live under a family-centred programme of activities.

Each cottage has a house parent who provides substitute parental love, attention and care and other home-life needs to the children while their special problems are being studied, diagnosed and treated.

The centre not only provides temporary shelter, care and rehabilitation, it trains child care workers and serves as research laboratory for referral cases, methods in the prevention of juvenile delinquency, and the extent of effectiveness of treatment approaches to children's delinquent behaviour and their related problems. All these are in line with the First Lady's belief in tracing the root causes of problems among children with a view to eliminating them and not merely to alleviating them.

NAYON NG KABATAAN
(Orphanage)

For 45 years, hundreds of orphans were dumped in a dilapidated building in Welfareville and then forsaken. Administration after administration allowed the orphanage to deteriorate. The conditions were so abominable the Bureau of Buildings condemned the orphanage as unfit for human habitation and dangerous to human lives.

Shocked by these conditions, Mrs. Marcos raised funds for the construction of a new home for the children to provide them healthier surroundings and fresh hopes for a better life. The new orphanage–a complex of 14 cottages completely furnished by the Ladies Volunteer Committee of the First Lady–was built in Pasay City along modern-day concepts of child care. The obsolete one-building type of housing was abandoned. Instead, cottages were built to promote the concept of family-centred activities.

Completed at a cost of P562, 499. 82, the Nayon ng Kabataan has facilities for the care, training and

education of 200 orphaned, abandoned and neglected children whose ages range from four to 16. Orphans and youngsters who have to be separated from their families or guardians are given home care, citizenship training and education so that when they return to their families and the community they shall have become useful and responsible citizens.

From the time of their admission to the day of their discharge, the youngsters are provided social services. Their parents and relatives are also encouraged to use the services of the orphanage so that the problems which caused the children's placement in the 'Nayon ng Kabataan' may be better understood and dealt with positively to hasten their return to their families and the community.

MARILLAC HOME FOR GIRLS

Marillac Hills is the third of five welfare villages built by the First Lady under her Integrated Social Welfare programme. It is the national centre for the rehabilitation of girls who have come in conflict with the law.

For many years, the girls lived in sub-human conditions in Welfareville until Mrs. Marcos built this new village in Alabang, Rizal, to give them a new lease in life in an ideal environment. Built at a cost of P500, 506.84, Marillac Hills is a complex of 12 cottages, all furnished by the Ladies Volunteer Committee of the First Lady.

Most of the girls have court cases pending against them. Some cases involve parental disobedience. Others have been sentenced for some minor infraction of the law. Once committed to Marillac Hills, the girls are provided with opportunities to satisfy adequately their physical and emotional needs. More important, they are prepared socially, vocationally and psychologically for return to their families and the community.

Recreational facilities form a significant part of the treatment and the rehabilitation of the girls. Planned activities that orient them to their future responsibilities and needs are part of their rehabilitation. The village has an education building for special classes for girls with special education needs. When practicable, the girls are allowed to attend elementary and high school classes in Alabang.

The staff of the village, through casework, individually help the girls and their parents to use the institution's services to strengthen their relationships, specially their social adjustment. Parents are made to understand the problems that brought about their daughter's confinement at the village.

GOLDEN ACRES (Home for Senior Citizens)

On a two-hectare lot in Quezon City, the First Lady has built her fourth welfare village: Golden Acres or Home for the Aged and Infirm. The home has seven spacious cottages, two for the strong and healthy residents and one for the infirm. In addition, there are cottages for the staff, administration offices, a sick bay, and one central kitchen and laundry, with an area for vocational activities. It will cost approximately half a million pesos, mostly from donations of the private sector.

The new village replaced the Old Home for the Aged in Mandaluyong which outlived its use and was considered outmoded. Golden Acres, as envisioned by Mrs. Marcos, provides elder citizens of the Philippines with decent homes, better surroundings and a healthier environment.

VICENTE MADRIGAL VILLAGE FOR BOYS

The Vicente Madrigal Village for Boys, located on a 18-hectare site in Tanay, Rizal, is the fifth and largest welfare village to be built under the First Lady's Integrated Social Welfare programme. As conceived by Mrs. Marcos, the village is a farming community for some 500 young boys who have committed offences against the law. As part of their training and rehabilitation, boys are taught how to farm, grow vegetables and raise poultry and pigs to prepare them to earn their living immediately after their release. Those who wish to pursue a career in agriculture will be provided scholarships as part of the First Lady's goal of giving the youngsters a new lease in life. As in all the welfare villages set up by Mrs. Marcos, the boys undergo a family-centred daily living programme that orients them to their future responsibilities and to prepare them socially, vocationally and psychologically for return to their families and community.

ASSISTING THE MENTALLY ILL

For years, the inhuman conditions at the mental hospital were a disgrace. The conditions were reminiscent of slave labour camps. The patients were neglected and abandoned. Many of them were emaciated and diseased. Most were in various degrees of nakedness.

Nearly all the pavilions were filthy and dirty. The stench was unbearable. The patients were crowded into pavilions, like animals herded in a corral and left to endure wretched conditions. Most of the wards did not have beds. The sick slept on the cold bare door. Many became chronic tubercular patients.

Inadequate sewage disposal and an antiquated plumbing system compounded the deplorable conditions. There were not enough eating utensils. Many patients ate like animals from rusty pails. They shared plates and glasses, thus contaminating one another. The hospital also suffered from a shortage of nurses.

This state of human degradation in the mental hospital continued for years. It took the First Lady to improve conditions in the mental hospital. She visited the hospital and saw for herself the inhuman conditions there. After making her own private investigations, she took action immediately.

Today the whole atmosphere at the hospital has been changed. It is no longer a depressing experience to visit the National Mental Hospital.

SAVE A LIFE IN EVERY BARRIO

Quietly and without fanfare, Mrs. Marcos initiated what is known as her 'Save A Life in Every Barrio' project. It is one of the First Lady's programmes which has effectively brought prompt welfare and medical assistance to barrio folk.

The programme began inauspiciously in Jolo, Sulu, in 1966 when she visited the Muslim capital. Two handicapped Muslim youths–one a cripple, the other blind–caught the attention and sympathy of the First Lady. With their parents' permission, Mrs. Marcos brought the two youngsters for treatment in Manila. Pahallawan Aradain, after a delicate eye operation, recovered his eye-sight, while Pilgansa Panduca, the cripple, was fitted with a new wooden leg and underwent occupational therapy for three months.

Realizing how many other economically disadvantaged families in the rural areas must need the same prompt welfare attention, Mrs. Marcos launched her 'Save A Life In Every Barrio' programme on a nation-wide scale.

The Department of Social Welfare, PACD, Puericulture Centres and Rural Health Units serve as co-ordinating agencies. If treatment is not possible at the nearest provincial hospital, the patient is brought to Manila for treatment. To date, the programme has assisted thousands of indigents in almost all 66 provinces. A full-time social worker on the staff of the First Lady does case study and referrals. Treatment is provided by doctors who volunteer their services as a philanthropy of skills.

NATURAL DISASTERS

No country is spared from natural disasters such as fires, typhoons, floods, volcanic eruptions and earthquakes, and the Philippines has not been an exception. And whenever a disaster strikes, people have turned to Mrs. Marcos for relief and assistance. This is not only because they know she has a compassionate heart but more because they are confident she would take action immediately.

Not having a budget of her own to meet these numerous appeals for assistance, the First Lady started a Special Disaster Fund for victims of natural disasters. However, it is not financial aid alone that counts in moments of crisis. It is being there at the disaster site to commiserate with the victims and keeping vigil to boost the morale of the people as President and Mrs. Marcos have demonstrated in so many instances.

'MALIGAYANG PASKO' PROJECT

Annually, as the Christmas season draws near, the First Lady raises funds from the private sector to underwrite the traditional 'Maligayang Pasko' Festival. The climax of this Festival is the customary distribution

of thousands of 'Maligayang Pasko' bags to indigent families in the slum areas of Manila and its suburbs.

Student leaders from different colleges and universities take charge of scouting the slum areas for deserving recipients of the bags. The experience helps to develop their social conscience as they gain insight into the plight of the poor. The students themselves distribute the bags that have been carefully packaged by members of the Ladies Volunteer Committee of Mrs. Marcos. Each bag, designed to spread Christmas cheer, contains a wide assortment of foodstuffs, clothing and other sundries.

Since 1968, the First Lady has made the Festival nationwide. This has involved raising P1.2 million yearly to provide 100,000 'Maligayang Pasko' bags for distribution in the 66 provinces. The children's Christmas party for the poor and youngsters from welfare institutions is another of the First Lady's undertakings during Christmas.

Surplus funds raised during past Christmases have been channelled to the construction of parks and playgrounds in Manila and the neighbouring cities of Pasay, Caloocan and Quezon.

PROJECT TULUNGAN

Another of the First Lady's nationwide action programmes, Project Tulungan, has moved more deeply into impoverished areas of the country to advance the welfare of the less fortunate. This is being accomplished through self-help programmes in health, social services, educational activities, housing, family life, education, vocational training and placement, recreation and continuing adult education.

Project Tulungan Centres are in full operation in Tondo, Manila's depressed area, where volunteers teach those who have less in life to improve the quality of their lives with dignity, pride and self-respect. The welfare project is not a charity programme. Rather, it encourages the philanthropy of skills, funds and expertise from the government, the church and the private sector to help accelerate nation progress.

Project Tulungan calls for the highest ideals of humanitarianism and volunteerism equated only with the noblest demonstration of love for one's people and one's country.

All these social action programmes, coupled with the elevation to cabinet level of the Department of Social Welfare and the upgrading of social work as a profession, have been regarded as a breakthrough in social welfare in the Philippines. More importantly, it has kept faith with President Marcos' belief that success in social action is essential to national progress.

Experts review cultural programme

THE importance of the SEATO Cultural Programme in promoting international exchanges was emphasised by the French Ambassador to Thailand, Mr. Roger Lescot, when he opened the first meeting of an Expert Study Group at SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok, in July.

The group reviewed the Organization's cultural activities.

Mr. Lescot said that the SEATO Cultural Programme provided scholars, fellows and professors with the means to visit other countries and to further their research work.

There was, said the Ambassador, an obvious advantage in such contacts; technical facilities, new methods, special training became readily available to the visitor.

The idea of reviewing the programme showed a willingness to adapt it to the ever changing circumstances of the times and would ensure its continued vitality.

SEATO Acting Secretary-General Robert Hyslop said that the Organization's Cultural Programme had a proud record. It was a field of SEATO activity which received continuing support from all member nations, representing as it did certain positive values in the non-military field.

It was hoped that the recommendations of the Expert Study Group would lead to an even more effective and meaningful programme.

Thai author again takes Literary Award

Suwannee Sukontha . . . US$ 1,000 for "work of talent and originality."

FOR the third consecutive year a Thai author has won the SEATO Literary Award for an original work of outstanding merit. But this year's winner, Suwannee Sukontha, was prevented through illness from attending the ceremony at which she was to have been presented with the US$ 1,000 literary prize for her novel "A Man Called Karn".

Instead the eldest of her three daughters, 17-year-old Duangtar Nantakwang, received the award on her mother's behalf. SEATO Acting Secretary-General Robert Hyslop made the presentation at SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok, on July 19.

The selection of Suwannee's work for the award was made by a national committee composed of Thailand's prominent literary figures and academics and approved by a SEATO committee.

Presenting the cheque and a certificate of merit to Suwannee's daughter, Mr. Hyslop said that Suwannee had produced "a work of talent and originality" which was worthy of recognition.

The winning story appeared last year in the Thai weekly magazine, *Stree Sarn* as a serial in 44 parts and is expected to be published in book form in the near future. It is a work in the realistic genre, with contemporary Thai society serving both as setting and dramatic source.

Through the trials, tribulations and obstinate selflessness of Karn, a Bangkok medical doctor practising in the underprivileged provincial district, the author brings into play big city and village values, their contrast, affinity and interconnexion.

The story's social content is couched in a style which successfully blends the earthy and the lyrical elements in the Thai language.

Suwannee Sukontha is a pseudonym. The author's real name reads quite close to it: Suwannee Sukontieng. She has not been a practising novelist for very long, but was instantly hailed as a new talent when she first appeared in print in 1966.

She was then working with the Silpakorn University, Bangkok, and was not unknown as a painter of traditional Thai scenes, a fact which helps to explain one of her strongest points as a writer: the ease and ability to produce visual impact with words.

The SEATO Literary Award scheme is part of the SEATO Cultural Programme. It was instituted to encourage creative and original writing in the Treaty area. The award is open to entries from the whole range of literature; to fiction, non-fiction, short stories or poetry.

Awards are made on the recommendations of the various national selection committees.

Duangtar Nantakwang receives the award on behalf of her mother from SEATO Acting Secretary-General Robert Hyslop.

• The Potala, residence of the Dalai Lama, was drawn as dominating a Western landscape by a European artist of the 1700s. *(Copyright: Radio Times Hulton Picture Library)*

THE CAPITAL OF SHANGRI - LA

By

J. Dean Barrett

LHASA: capital of the "Land of God," cynosure of the occult—saffron-robed lamas spinning silver prayer wheels at exotic rites, pilgrims circling shrines decked with prayer-flags, oracles uttering mysterious words of wisdom; wafts of incense rising before ancient frescoes, elaborate scrolls, rich brocades and awesome images, folk chanting sacred texts as hypnotic as the Himalayan wind. Lhasa—remote, inaccessible, haunting and, above all, forbidden.

Since 1959 the perilous journey over the roof of the world to this "Vatican of Lamaism" has been forbidden not only to most outsiders but also to the God-King himself, the "Precious Lord," known to the outside world as the Dalai Lama. From his refuge in northern India, on the far side of the Himalayas, the exiled Dalai Lama—fourteenth of the line—helplessly hears of the cataclysmic changes sweeping through his

homeland, the last theocracy on earth. Not only have the Chinese Communists destroyed the holy places of Tibetan Buddhism: they have changed the very Tibetan way of life. And the fourteenth Dalai Lama, a mild-mannered, bespectacled 34-year-old monk, may in fact be the last of the god-kings.

But the fascination of the world for Tibet will outlast his exile reign. This fascination has come from many sources, but in its most primaeval form, it doubtless arises from man's propensity to people high places with magical and supernatural beings. In the 1930s the English writer James Hilton visualized a "Shangri-la" on a cliff-side of the Himalayas, an enchanted lamasery where people did not age, and monks played lost Chopin compositions. Herodotus talked of gigantic ants that dug for gold and other supernatural creatures, which inhabited the Himalayan highlands. Other peoples of the region spread rumours of a dreaded "Cave of Scorpions" and other exotic tortures.

Traditional versions of the creation of the Tibetan people—actually a branch of the Mongolian race closely related to the aboriginal tribes of Western China—are just as hyperbolic and strange. One tells of a cosmic egg that burst open to produce the ancestors of the Tibetan race. Another tells of the union of a monkey and a mountain ogress, which produced the Tibetans.

Even Marco Polo, who passed through the foothills of Tibet, added his traveller's tales of the fantastic peoples he believed inhabited the regions. From the tales he heard on the caravan routes and from what he later saw of Tibetan magicians at Kublai Khan's court at Cambaluc he wrote: "Among these people you find the best enchanters and astrologers that exist in all that quarter of the world. They perform such extraordinary and marvellous sorceries by the diabolic arts that it astounds one even to see them and hear of them. So I will relate none of them in this book of ours. People would be amazed if they heard them, but it would serve no good purpose."

The name and location of Tibet's capital and main river, Tsangpo, are first mentioned in the *History of the T'ang Dynasty* (618-906 AD). During this period, word of a powerful kingdom to the West first reached China's capital of Changan. This kingdom, known as "Bhota" in seventh-century Sanskrit manuscripts, and "To Fan" or "To Bo," the Chinese words most like the English "Tibet," proved powerful enough to fight Chinese troops and to extort peace treaties from even the great T'ang.

The protracted agony of T'ang China's wars with the Tibetans is reflected in the poems of China's greatest poets, Li Po and Tu Fu. Other intellectuals also took up their pacifist cry, and soon almost any Chinese military expedition to Tibet or elsewhere was certain to arouse popular discontent. A poem of Han Yu (768-824) utters a typical, yet strikingly modern, complaint:

An expedition is being staged again,
When will there be peace?
Who is the planner of this policy—
Is he not making a wrong move?

A seventh-century Tibetan king, Songtsen Gampo, is believed to have founded Lhasa, building several monuments in it for the Chinese princess whom he married. She is said to have brought to Lhasa her Buddhist religion and the much revered image of the Sakyamuni as a young man. The Tibetan king's suit for this princess's hand had at first been refused. In the war that ensued 200,000 Tibetan troops fought the T'ang soldiers to a standstill, so impressing the Emperor that he finally agreed to the wedding.

Songtsen Gampo also married the daughter of a Nepalese king who, like the Chinese princess, is said to have been beautiful, intelligent, and a devout Buddhist. Eventually; Buddhism overwhelmed, and also assimilated, *Bon-pa,* the native Tibetan religion, and this religious syncretism, with subsequent adaptations, became known as Lamaism.

In sharp contrast to latter-day Lamaism, the old native religion of Tibet was pragmatic, earthy, concerned with things of this world—mainly with propitiating, through "ransom-offerings," the spiteful demons and spirits who afflict men with misfortunes. The rituals of ransom-offerings were celebrated by priests called "invokers," who were also astrologers, diviners and mediums mediating between men and the gods. Buddhism was inherited from North India and Nepal, where it had become established as early as the fifth century. The new religion seeped into Tibet very slowly, and by the time the Tibetans embraced it wholeheartedly, around the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, Buddhism had ironically disappeared in its homeland, supplanted by Islam and Hinduism.

Soon Tibet was in the region the only stronghold of Buddhism: by this time a decadent faith extravagantly ritualistic and sacramental, based on the mastery of esoteric texts and mystic observances—a mastery that could be gained only by years of training under a master who himself possessed that truth and bestowed it on his pupil once the master knew the pupil was ripe to receive it. This esoteric mysticism and this role of keeping high the true faith amid the lowlands of heathenism all were part of Lhasa's other-worldly appeal to the outside world for long periods in the city's history.

Surrounded to the south, west and north by great

ranges all rising above 20,000 feet, and on the tilting east by wastelands and smaller ranges, Tibet still is the most inaccessible country in the world.

Until almost the 1950s, the journey from Peking to Lhasa normally took all of eight months over hard deserts. The southward route from the Indian frontier, over the old spice caravan routes, up from Kalimpong and Yatung in the east, and from Ladakh and Kashmir in the west, took a month: but this southern route was closed for long periods, particularly in the nineteenth century, when the period of Western colonization in Asia was at its peak.

A German soldier, Heinrich Harrer, took two full years to reach Lhasa after escaping from a British prison camp in North India in 1944, and enduring the hardships of climbing, the bitter cold, the desolation of uninhabited plateaus. Harrer crossed into Tibet over Shipki Pass in the West and then followed the Tsangpo River and the caravan trail from Gartok to Lhasa.

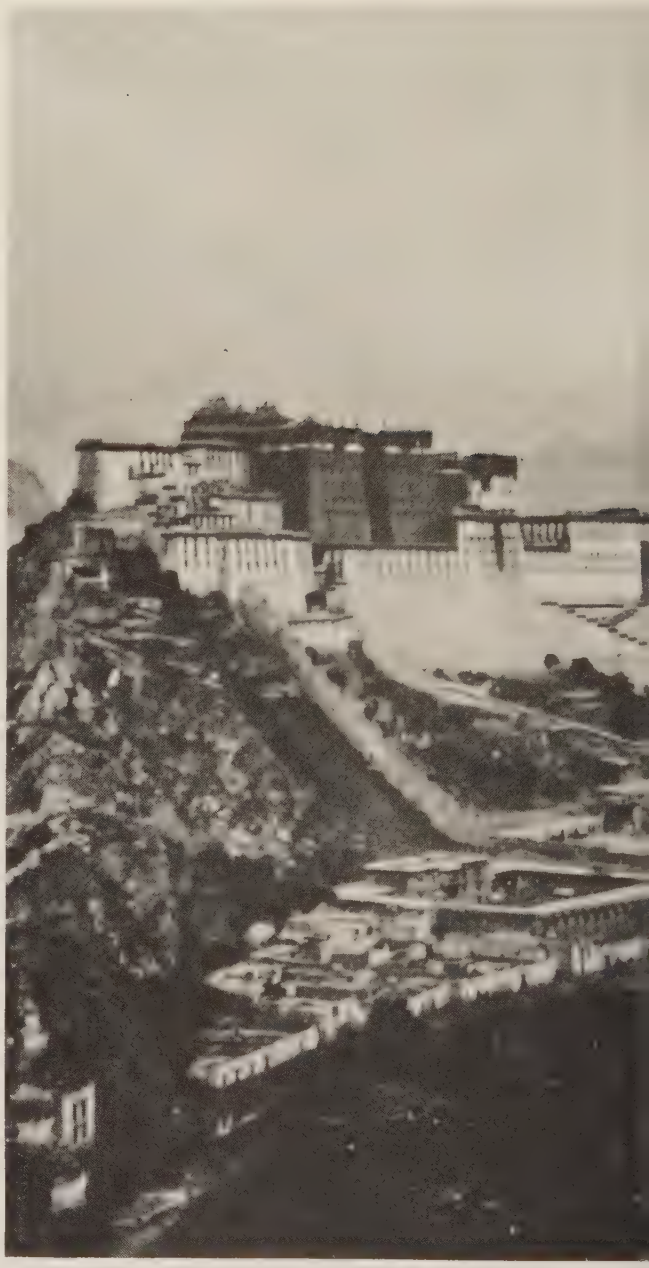
Ancient travellers approaching Lhasa spoke of being greeted by Tibetans sticking out their tongues and holding up their open palms—the palms open to show no weapons and the tongue stuck out in the belief that a potential poisoner's tongue would be black.

The way to Lhasa, on a valley 12,000 feet up, is pastoral. For days on end, one valley leads to another, full of flowers, birds, golden barley, blue and pink buckwheat. "The white-sand road follows the pale-green river," wrote a recent visitor, "squeezing past cliffs and out into the level valley-bottoms again." Men of the British expedition of 1904 were enchanted by the panorama of the environs of Lhasa.

Willow groves were intersected by clear-running streams near marshes filled with wild duck. In autumn the willows were a sulphur-yellow, and behind them the ripe barley fields stretched away to the hills. "Just before dusk, the breeze stirred the poplars, and the silver under the leaves glistened against a background of clouds . . . . A rainbow hung over the Potala like a nimbus."

Like twin pyramids, the Potala, palace of the Dalai Lamas, and nearby Iron Hill tower above the Lhasa Valley. Below the golden roofs of the Potala stretch meadows of barley, the river, the flatroofed houses of the city, and the backdrop of mountains. The houses of Lhasa are often of brick and stone and built facing south, to catch the warmth of the mild sun. No house is more than two storeys high, lest it detract from the grandeur of the Potala, though each house is permitted its palisade of prayer flags.

The streets of Lhasa have often been described by travellers as being dirty, unclean, full of scavenging pigs and dogs wallowing in the mud, and with outcast humans sitting amid the holy filth. But the Potala imparts a strange majesty to the city. Crowning a rocky hill, it stands 13 storeys high, and has 1,000 rooms. At the turn of the century a British soldier described it as being . . . "superbly detached. It is not a palace on a hill, but a hill that is also a palace . . . The divinity dwells in the palace, and underneath, at the distance of a furlong [220 yards] or so, humanity is huddled abjectly in



• **The Potala in reality; a British member of the Younghusband Expedition of 1904 took this picture of the Dalai Lama's capital at its most beguiling.** *(Copyright: Radio Times Hulton Picture Library)*

squalid, smut-begrimed houses. The proportion is that which exists between God and man."

Tradition says that it was Songtsen Gampo, the same Tibetan king who faced down the T'ang armies, who built the first structure on Red Hill above the western suburbs of Lhasa. The Mongols, sweeping southwestward in their time, destroyed this first fortress. It was several times rebuilt and enlarged by forced labour, and shaped substantially into its present form during the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama, around the middle seventeenth century.

For ten years the death of this Dalai Lama was kept secret, because the regent who succeeded him wanted the great palace finished at all costs, and feared that his own prestige might not carry the tremendous task through.

The Potala seems to grow out of the sheer rock on which it is built. Its massive walls slope inwards from their bases, and its frames and lintels are built wider at the bottom than at the top. Its magnificence is heightened by its wide, steep stone stairways, its small golden canopies contrasting perfectly with the square flat rooftops and their endless rows of small, austere windows.

Two turrets built at either end are the metaphorical wings that would one day lift the entire palace above the Great Flood of prophecy. The total effect of the architecture is that of a structure straining toward the sky, like the enchanted castles of childhood.

Around 1645 the buildings of the Potala were connected into a series of halls, following the contours of the long, high ridge. The peak of Red Hill forms a small earthern mound inside an empty room in the lowest storey. Passageways lead out of this empty room in which, according to Tibetan tradition, Songtsen Gampo married his Chinese princess. A golden helmet said to have belonged to the King is one of the treasures of the palace.

The first set of buildings on the Potala holds the living quarters of the Dalai Lama, the library, the two halls of the *sutras,* or sacred books, as well as treasure rooms and servants' quarters. The second set of buildings includes more halls of *sutras* and the funerary pagodas of gilded bronze or gold leaf. In the western quarter lived 250 monks. On the top floor of the Potala, beneath the golden roofs, the Dalai Lamas held court. It was from such a height that the fifth Dalai Lama saw a vision of the goddess Drolma keeping watch over an old man whose recitations of prayers—inaccurate but heartfelt—had so pleased her.

Here also, during the New Year, did the God-King of Tibet receive the notables of the kingdom in audience. A Chinese scholar-diplomat who attended one such audience in the 1940s recorded its ceremonies: The deep voice of a herald announced the entrance of the Dalai Lama. He came in to the sound of clarinets, a yellow carpet being unrolled in his path. The gathered notables kowtowed, while attendants swung incense burners and proferred Tibetan delicacies to guests. At the end of the audience, the menials scrambled for the sacred leftovers from the Dalai Lama's kitchens.

On the plain southeast of the Potala, in the heart of Lhasa, is Jo-khang temple, 1,300 years old, its spires topped with gold, beneath which lie the most sacred treasures of Lamaism. Jo-khang—literally, "idol-house" —is the Cathedral of Lhasa. It is said to have been founded by Songtsen Gampo himself, to hold the image

of the Buddha that his T'ang Chinese princess had brought to Lhasa as her dowry.

This image of the Buddha as a young prince had been a gift from India to the Empress of China: it is said to have miraculously fashioned itslef, from gold, silver and other precious metals. Generations of Tibetans have encrusted it with jewels and gold leaf.

At the main approach to the Jo-khang, an eighteenth-century Christian mission had set up a bell. It hangs there, amid the stalls of the temple merchants. Centuries of pilgrims have worn smooth the stones at the entrance of the Jo-khang. For around the sacred temple are drawn the three mystic circles that circumscribe the holy city of Lhasa—paths of merit that the pilgrim walks, counterclockwise, while spinning a prayer wheel and offering alms to the temple beggars.

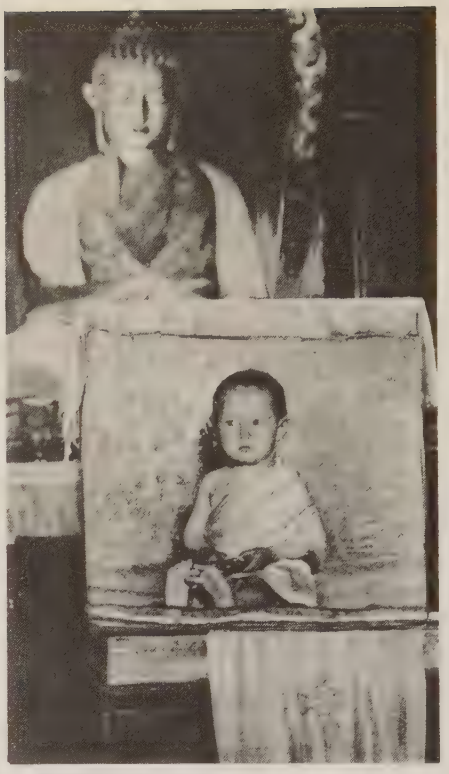
Crowds in festive clothes queue to enter the innermost chapel that holds the most venerated Buddhas. In the dark, thick air of the chapel, lit by rancid butter lamps, sit the impassive images of the gods. Folk crawl slowly in the half-dark to the foot of each image, then gently touch its cold bronze toes with their foreheads. After offering money to the monks who tend the votive lamps, they move on.

In an upper storey of the shrine lies the image of the ferocious goddess Palden Lhamo: fashioned of glittering gold, the goddess is said to devour human brains from a dish made of a skull. This shrine is overrun with hundreds of mice, the holy pets of the goddess. A British soldier of 1904 who heard the lamas of the Jo-khang at their prayers was haunted by their chant: "It sounds like the endless repetition of the same formula: the monks sway to it rhythmically. The voice of the thousand monks is like the drone of some subterranean monster—the wail of the Earth God praying for release to the God of the Skies."

The great mystic circle that runs all round Lhasa is called the Lingkor, and on festivals hundreds of pilgrims walks around it. The pilgrim stretches himself at full length on the sacred path, makes a mark as far as his outstretched hands could reach, stands up, advances his feet to the mark, then stretches out full length on the ground once more. It takes upwards of 5,000 prostrations to cover the five miles of the Lingkor.

Pilgrims usually wear wooden palm protectors strapped to their hands, and some pilgrims circle the Lingkor many times during the season of penance, storing up tremendous merit for their next transmigration. The pilgrim lucky enough to die on the Lingkor is forever quit of his sins.

In February, during the first month of the Tibetan New Year, Lhasa's normal population of 35,000-swells to more than twice that, as monks and believers converge from the countryside for the Monlan festival. The marketplaces of Lhasa, particularly the one just outside Jo-khang temple, bustle with merchants, monks, peasants, officials and wanderers. The merchants of Lhasa were known for their jovial temper and their shrewdness all over the Himalayan caravan routes. No price is considered exorbitant and no merchant considered a cheat: whatever he gets away with, had been owed to him in a previous existence.



• The 14th Dalai Lama at his enthronement in Lhasa in 1940 when he was four. *(Copyright: Radio Times Hulton Picture Library)*

Craftsmen open their half-dark, street-level shops to display their wares. Pilgrims peer at the goods they sell: the women in their wide-sleeved blouses, with white conch shells for bracelets and striped aprons and long gowns. Those who have made the long journey from the country generally wear wide skirts for riding, as well as headdresses, shawls and even painted faces to protect themselves against the sun. Folk play dice, cards or mahjong, and in open fields men may get together for a round of football, foot-racing archery or horse-racing.

Noble households hold feasts, usually of Chinese-style food—though an English journalist who dined with the Dalai Lama's cabinet was served a full Tibetan meal.

• Lama at his prayers twirls a prayers wheel in Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal and a tributary of Tibetan culture.

"We sat at a long table loaded with meats, sweets and gold and silver plates, while high officials in rich silk gowns changed plates and poured drinks as a special mark of the courtesy that is a never-failing characteristic of Tibetans. There were great dishes of yak beef, steaming saddles of mutton, sheep's heads boiled and split open to display the brains and tongues, entrails containing chopped meats, liver, dumplings, chopped raw meat, tongues, eggs, pickles, peppers, cakes of barley flour blended with butter, sugar and beer." The beer is traditionally of fermented barley, on which hot water is poured: it is called *chang* and looks like much diluted milk.

Lhasa life was of course dominated by the lamaseries. The three great ones together housed more than 20,000 monks. The most important of these, *Ganden,* or the Joyous Monastery, had been founded in the suburbs of the city by the first Dalai Lama himself in 1409. His followers founded two more monasteries at the base of mountains surrounding Lhasa: the *Drepung,* "Rice Heap," and the *Sera,* "Rose Fence." Drepung was the largest monastery in the whole of Tibet: it had 8,000 monks in the 1950s.

Monks came from both the upper classes and the peasantry. A novice generally attached himself to a "house" when he was five years old or even younger, then being put in the care of an older monk. Because of their great number and the secular duties they had to do, monks were not cut off from Lhasa life. On the contrary, they influenced it. Great prelates ran the monastic bureaucracy, while lesser lamas involved themselves in nearly everything from trading, supervising herds of cattle, running restaurants or churning butter.

Some monks devoted their entire lives to learning the ritual prayers and to contemplation. The lama scholar generally began as a novice of 15 or 16 and continued until he was 28 or 29, and by then a living repository of oral Buddhist doctrine. Other monks, much like the lay-brothers in some Catholic monasteries, did the routine work of the great monasteries and indulged in medieval boisterousness, like brawling and dueling.

The lama ruffians of the Drepung were particularly feared whenever they descended on Lhasa during the festivals–extorting money and drinks from restaurants, swaggering in the streets and generally outraging the populace.

From the monk-scholars rose the great ascetics of Lamaism, who spent their lives in meditation, preaching and celebrating the mystic rituals of the faith, and whose piety and self-discipline generated much of the charm that Tibet and Buddhism held for the outside world. The belief that the holiest and most renowned of these contemplatives underwent reincarnation actually preceded the institution of the Dalai Lama.

The system of reincarnating lamas was followed as a means of gaining prestige by various Tibetan monasteries during a period of fiercely competitive sects in the fifteenth century. Eventually the practice was perpetuated by the sect known to the outside world as the Yellow Hats, whose fifth Dalai ("Ocean of Wisdom") Lama became the first Tibetan theocrat in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Whenever a ruling Dalai, Lama died, his courtiers recorded his last words and gestures, even his position at death, for some sign to where his successor might be found. After consulting various oracles, casting lots and praying for signs, scouting parties went out to find the new Dalai Lama.

Soon after the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, for instance, the regent beheld a vision of a Chinese peasant house with carved gables, beside a monastery with golden roofs. In 1937 a search party ventured into Chinese territory to find the scene of the regent's vision. Disguised as servants, the officials visited the peasant house, where they found a young boy who strangely enough knew who they were and which monastery they were from. The boy was able to identify the articles that the searchers brought with them, which had belonged to the dead Dalai Lama and the boy's entire demeanour seemed that of one who had been patiently, if amusedly, waiting for his former friends to find him.

At the news, Lhasa was convulsed with joy: the new god-king's father was made a duke, and the little boy was lovingly prepared to assume his throne.

Even during the years of the Pacific War, Lhasa life accepted the primary place of tradition. The British and Chinese missions in the Tibetan capital were harbingers of change, but only mild ones. The Tibetan nobility came to like lambchops and tea-cakes, and to learn to wear watches and fountain pens.

A few of Lhasa's young were by then going to Western-style schools in Darjeeling, but the life of the great city went on placidly. By 1950 the omens were bad: a painted stork, blown off course from its natural habitat in the Indian plains, was found in Lhasa and burnt ritually to avert catastrophe. One of the dragon gargoyles on the gold roof of the Jo-khang dripped water, in dry weather. A bright and beautiful comet appeared in the lowering sky.

The earth shook, and a medium had a vision of gods and demons battling in the heavens. Soon afterward the first Chinese Communist troops attacked eastern Tibet. In the winter of 1959 the fourteenth Dalai Lama fled secretly to India. Modernity, in its most frightening aspects, had finally reached Shangri-la.

Copyright *"Orientations."*

Major advance in fight against cancer

UNITED States researchers in July reported finding the clearest-cut evidence to date that viruses cause some forms of cancer in people.

Investigators at the M.D. Anderson Hospital and Tumor Institute of the University of Texas in Houston believe they have for the first time isolated a human cancer virus.

They grew in laboratory flasks large numbers of viruses in cells taken from a young patient who died of Burkitt's Lymphoma, a cancer of the lymph glands. (The disease is rare among U.S. children, but is the most prevalent form of cancer afflicting African children.)

If the finding is confirmed, it represents a milestone achievement on the long road to prevention of cancer. Viruses are strongly suspected as the sole causal agent in one-third of the cancers afflicting mankind and one widely respected theory holds that viruses are a factor in the rise of all human cancers.

If the finding is verified in other laboratories (such work is underway at the National Institutes of Health and elsewhere in the United States), the door is open wider to complete understanding of the cause of at least some forms of cancer and perhaps to development of vaccines to prevent them.

Cancer-viruses grown in the laboratory, weakened to prevent infecting people with cancer but retaining an immunity-producing factor, would be the stuff of which vaccines might be made.

For perspective, it is important to understand what the new finding is and is not. It is a step beyond mere identification of viruses present in human cancer patients and a number of steps short of absolute proof that viruses cause any human cancer.

Since 1957 numerous investigators have identified suspected cancer viruses in a variety of cancer patients by examination of cancerous cell tissue under the electron microscope at magnification up to 100,000 times.

It is something else to isolate the virus; that is, to extract it and make it grow and multiply in virus-free cultures.

This is what the Houston team led by Drs. Elizabeth S. Priori and Leon Dmochowski has done. They grew the virus in cultures of cancer-free human lymph cells, then showed the virus could be introduced to infect other lymph cell cultures, and did so in culture after culture, 40 in all.

The isolation and cell culture technique is the scientists's way of demonstrating that the virus is indeed an infective agent, not just an associated or even innocent virus residing in cancerous cells.

At the same time the scientists did not demonstrate that the virus causes Burkitt's Lymphoma in people. The direct way would be to inject people with the virus culture and see if cancer develops. This, of course, is out of the question. Scientists will include injecting cancer-free animals with the viral agent to determine if cancer arises; examining other human patients to try to find the cancer-virus, and perhaps developing a vaccine to determine its effectiveness in suspected cancer-prone animals.

The virus grown in the laboratory is a spherical particle of a kind called a C-type virus. Viruses of this type have been identified in the past two years in at least five different kinds of human cancer, including breast cancer.

Drs. Priori and Dmochowski, major figures in modern viral-cancer research, reported finding virus-like particles in specimens from human cancer patients as early as 1957.

Their work, and that of investigators around the world in identifying viral particles in cancerous tissue, has been important but not conclusive. Viruses are ubiquitous in the tissues of men and animals and proof that any virus is directly linked to the cause of any cancer has not been demonstrated.

The new finding is a major step toward implicating a virus as the infective agent in causing cancer, a step never before taken.

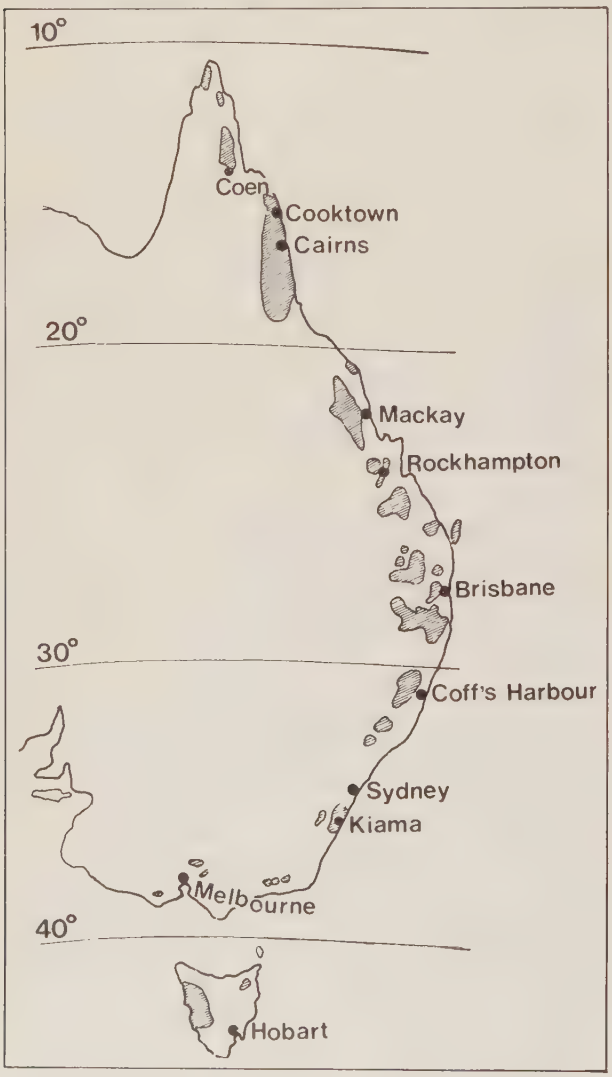
Australia's Oldest

BY L. J. WEBB AND W. T. WILLIAMS

Dr. Webb and Dr. Williams are officers of the Australian Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation.

NEARLY 200 years ago, European man chose to settle in and develop a region with a sparse Aboriginal population and an environment traditionally regarded as inhospitable: the colony of New South Wales.

For much of Australia's brief history since then, Australia and Asia have been culturally and politically distinct. Of course, there were profound ecological differences between them: the Australian continent is predominantly arid and temperate, of low relief, with poor soils and constant bush-fires, whereas equatorial islands to the north—such as New Guinea—are humid and tropical, mountainous and often geologically young.



●The shaded areas denote rain forest regions.

Yet biological continuity has been preserved, and there is one aspect of the Australian scene which has always been part of Asia and which, despite many vicissitudes and changes, retains its affinities with the equatorial world to the north: this aspect is the tropical rain forest.

Australia lost her land connexion with the main mass of the Malayan Archipelago in Cretaceous times—perhaps a hundred million years ago, and in those long years she has had ample time to evolve her own characteristic plants and animals from the ancient Palaeotropic stocks. Nevertheless, one narrow lifeline remained; for what we now know as Torres Strait was a land-bridge at intermittent intervals, and it connected Australia and New Guinea during the Pleistonece age, as recently as a hundred thousand and perhaps only ten thousand years ago.

Down this narrow causeway have come successive waves of plant and animal immigrants from the great primaeval forests of Asia. Indeed, Australia has always been a land of immigrants; and, although mammals, land-birds, and plants (as well as Aboriginal man) migrated into Australia, very little of Australian-adapted flora and fauna migrated in the other direction.

To understand how this came about we need to know something of the types of vegetation in the world at large.

Rather more than a quarter of the earth's land surface is well forested, and more than half of this is occupied by tropical rain forests. These are typically closed, broad-leaved, evergreen and 'raingreen' forests. In dry monsoon regions the rain-green tree species dominate deciduous thickets and scrubs, which are leafless during the dry winter season and bear no resemblance to the delicate-leaved 'summer-green' forests of the northern

Asian Heritage

●Tropical rain forest along the Baram River in Sarawak.

hemisphere which are denuded during the cold winter season.

Tropical rain forests reach their greatest luxuriance and variety in the equatorial belt, extending in both hemispheres to about 25° latitude. In the southern hemisphere, rain forests of tropical character persist into the sub-tropics, and in eastern Australia reach approximately 35° S. But at this latitude, most of the tropical life-forms have been lost, and there is considerable intermingling of tropical and temperate species.

At higher altitudes and latitudes where rainfall is adequate and well distributed, temperate evergreen rain forest replaces tropical rain forest. Unlike the latter, temperate rain forest lacks the wealth of lifeforms and species; it is characterised, when mature, by one tree layer and generally one tree species, with abundant tree-ferns and mossy epiphytes.

The sub-tropical and warm temperate rain forests of the southern hemisphere typically have emergent coniferous trees (species of *Araucaria, Agathis* and *Podocarpus),* but there is no equivalent to the vast tracts of conifer forest in the cold northern hemisphere. Instead, in Australia, both in tropical and temperate regions, 'sclerophyll' forests are widespread—trees with hard, leathery, evergreen leaves which often hang vertically; trees capable of growing and even thriving on soils which are droughty, low in mineral nutrients, poorly drained; trees which tolerate regular wild-fires.

These forests and woodlands in Australia are typically dominated by species of *Eucalyptus or Acacia,* and, depending on the soil, may have a well developed grassy or *heath* layer. The great genus *Eucalyptus* is almost confined to Australia, and of its five hundred or more species, only half a dozen penetrate northwards—one species as far north as Mindanao.

Very few species of *Eucalyptus* and *Acacia* are adapted to growth and regeneration in the tropical rain forest environment. The most spectacular example is Kamerere *(Eucalyptus deglupta)* which has broad, soft leaves and plank buttresses and is at home in alluvial lowland rain forest in parts of New Guinea.

Generally, however, the dark humid interiors and humus-floors of the dense tropical rain forests present an impassable ecological barrier to the sclerophylls. Outside Australia, the greatest extent of sclerophylls is in southern Papua, where seasonal aridity and the mounting pressure of man-lit fires favour the maintenance and expansion of an impoverished suite of sclerophylls *(Eucalyptus, Acacia, Grevillea,* etc.) at the expense of the fire-sensitive deciduous rain forest species.

Just as the Eucalyptus and other sclerophylls have been halted on their northern march by the living rampart of the tropical forests, so is the southern path barred to the rain forest trees by the physical ramparts of drought, fire and frost, so that much of Australia is forbidden them. Much, but not all. Down the eastern seaboard, on the slopes of the coastal ranges, where rainfall is higher and less erratic and there are basalt-enriched soils, the topography provides creeks and gullies and cloudy summits which shelter humid rain forests of tropical character. And farther inland, stretching discontinuously across northern Australia, monsoon forests persist on moist, well drained soils and in situations such as rocky outcrops which are fire-proof.

It was the botanist Hooker who, in 1859, first gave some thought to the relationships of the Australian tropical rain forests. He pointed out that there was a relatively clear change, somewhere between latitudes 26° and 29° S, between a tropical element to the north and an extra-tropical element to the south. The tropical forests have much in common, both structurally and floristically, with the forests of India and Malaysia, and have become recognised as the 'Indo-Malayan' or 'Indo-Malaysian' element—recently changed to 'Indo-Malesian'.

It is this element which is Australia's oldest Asian heritage.

Tropical rain forests and monsoon forests in fact occupy only a small proportion of the Australian landscape; but Australia is, in any case, poorly endowed with productive forests, which occupy only about two per cent of the total area, i.e. only 58 thousand square miles. Of this, perhaps six thousand square miles support tropical rain forest and monsoon forest.

These closed complex communities of tropical plants with many different growth-forms and characteristic fauna today occur in northern tropical and eastern humid Australia as scattered islands of Indo-Malesian affinities in a sea of Australian sclerophyll vegetation. They have been compared by Aubreville to 'a string of beads', each bead of a different size, giving the impression of originally continuous forested areas now fragmented and mostly replaced by open sclerophyll forests.

The abrupt boundaries which often exist between sclerophyll and rain forest are among the most striking in the world. The difference between the closed wet forests and the tree savannah of Africa and South America are striking enough; but in these cases the two floras, the closed and the open, are at least botanically related. In Australia, again to quote Aubreville, 'the floras seem descended from two different worlds'.

The ecological situation in Australia is, in fact, the reverse of that in the tropical countries to the north, where species and genera of the Australian and temperate

elements have gained a foothold only on patches of poor soils or in favourable mountain habitats.

The tropical and sub-tropical rain forests of Queensland are very like their counterparts in, say, Borneo or New Guinea, though somewhat simplified. In undisturbed areas there is the same dim, clean forest floor. The lianes, robust woody climbers, hang in festoons from the canopy, with its aerial gardens of orchids, aroids and ferns. Many of the trees have extraordinary 'plank buttresses', sheets of wood jutting out at right angles from the base of the trunk, and as high as, or higher than, a man.

There is the occasional 'strangler fig', which has germinated high in the canopy and sent its roots down to envelop, and ultimately strangle, the tree that first gave it support. On the ground there may be ferns and tall succulent herbs of the ginger and arum families. And in better-lit areas, where a falling tree has torn a hole in the canopy, there are less friendly plants, stinging trees and lawyer vines.

The sheer luxuriance of the vegetation has always excited and impressed botanists; Humboldt, the old plant geographer, described it enthusiastically as 'forest piled on forest'. Some people have even found it frightening; Lascelles Abercrombie wrote of 'Those monstrous sappy jungles of clutch growth'.

● Pacific islands' elephant plants in an old tea-tree forest.

Nevertheless, to many animals it is home, but a very complex and elaborate home. The rain forest is a world of its own, insulated from the harshness outside by its dense canopy, and in this world many mammals and birds lead secluded lives. Some live out their lives high in the canopy, for all the world as if they were trapped in a natural zoo. Many of the most interesting and beautiful of Australian animals are confined to the rain forests, particularly the tropical forests of the north.

But the most striking property of the Australian rain forests is their accessibility. If you are in any of the far northern coastal towns—such as Cairns, Innisfail or Tully—you are within an hour's drive or less of well developed tropical rain forest.

The value of these forests to the world is that they provide a simplified model, more easily brought into focus, of the great forests of Asia. An understanding of the Australian forests takes us far along the road to unravelling the patterns of their more complex counterparts.

There have been few critical studies of rain forests in the past; the difficulty has always been that their floristic diversity is so great that the unhappy worker is quickly submerged in a mass of data too extensive for the unaided human mind to manipulate. Only in the last few years, as relatively large and fast computers have become available, has it been possible to study these forests as they deserve to be studied; but there are still all too few people working in this field.

Ecological systems of such complexity cannot be expected to yield up their secrets overnight. It must be our responsibility to ensure that adequate samples of these forests are preserved so that future generations, with even more powerful techniques at their command, will still be able to study them, and learn how best to exploit them for the long-term benefit of the emerging tropical civilisations. *(Hemisphere* magazine.)

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Information magazine on SEATO's military and civil activities.

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Texts of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and the Pacific Charter.

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Security in Rural Areas
Two papers in booklet form presented by Douglas Hyde at a SEATO-sponsored seminar.

What is Communism? (English, Thai)
By Michael Davis. A straightforward explanation of Communism and its objectives.

Know Your Enemy (English, Thai)
A study of Communist tactics of infiltration and suggested counter-measures.

Posters:
Better Communications for Better Living (English, Thai)
Skilled Hands for National Progress (English, Thai)
Good Health Key to National Prosperity.
Highway to Health (Pakistan-SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory, Dacca).
A Helping Hand On The Land (SEATO Agricultural Research Project).

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UNHAPPY ANNIVERSARY –

Three years ago, on August 21, 1968, over 600,000 troops from Communist countries in the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact Alliance invaded Czechoslovakia.

The invading powers had refused to tolerate the reforms being introduced by the then Czechoslovak Communist Party leader, Alexander Dubcek—reforms which were aimed primarily at undoing the evils of the past and winning the support of the ruled for their rulers.

During the invasion, many Czechoslovaks who protested against the intrusion were either crushed under Soviet tanks or shot down. Since the invasion, reformers have been removed from office and most of the freedoms granted or promised have been cancelled or curtailed.

The photograph above shows defiant Czechoslovak youths carrying their national flag past a burning Soviet tank in a Prague street shortly after the invasion began.